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Three Centuries in the Development of the Pocahontas Story in American Literature: 1608-1908

William Warren Jenkins
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by William Warren Jenkins entitled "Three Centuries in the Development of the Pocahontas Story in American Literature: 1608-1908." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

Richard Beale Davis, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Nathalia Wright, Kenneth Curry, Ralph Haskins, Milton Klein

Accepted for the Council:
Dixie L. Thompson

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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and recommend its acceptance:

Nathalia Wright

Kenneth Cameron

W. Washington

Accepted for the Council:

L. Evans Holt

Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

THREE CENTURIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POCAHONTAS STORY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE: 1608-1908

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

William Warren Jenkins

June 1977

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In a study such as this one, the author is always indebted to a number of people for their advice, their patience, and their encouragement. While all such debts cannot be acknowledged within the limits of the space allotted here, some obligations must be honored. It is with this in mind that the following acknowledgements are made.

To Dr. Richard Beale Davis, who suggested this study and whose untiring patience and helpful comments have made its completion possible, to Dr. Kenneth Curry, who graciously served as my second reader, and to Dr. Nathalia Wright, Dr. Ralph W. Haskins, and Dr. Milton Klein, the other members of my committee, I wish to express my sincerest appreciation. To Dr. Bain Tate Stewart, whose constant encouragement at a time when encouragement was most needed, I offer my undying gratitude. And finally to Rebecca Turner Jenkins and Lucile Turner--my family, without whose moral support none of this would have been possible, a mere thank you seems inadequate.

ABSTRACT

The story of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith, dating from the early days of the first permanent English settlement in America, is the first American romance. As such, over the centuries it has maintained a prominent place in the American popular tradition and has been recorded repeatedly by historians and creative writers. The aim of this study is to trace and explain the development and utilization of the Pocahontas theme in American literature during a period of three centuries which begins with the rescue--real or purported--of Captain Smith by Pocahontas that occurred in late 1607 or early 1608 and ends with a great number of works treating the story which were inspired by the Jamestown Tricentennial Exposition that began in 1907 and continued well into the following year.

After a short introductory chapter which is devoted to that which one can determine about the history of both John Smith and Pocahontas prior to their first meeting, the focus of the second chapter of this study will be on the Smith accounts of the Pocahontas episodes. It is in these writings of Smith and, to a lesser degree, in those of his contemporaries that the very bases of all ensuing literary treatments of the Pocahontas story--both factual and fictional--are established. With this fact in mind, these

early presentations of the Pocahontas episodes are examined in considerable detail.

In Chapter III, the handling of the Pocahontas story by later writers of non-fictional prose are examined. In each case the author's fidelity, or lack of it, to Smith's accounts is noted and any apparent reasons for deviations from that material are analyzed.

Chapter IV considers treatments of the Pocahontas theme which were fashioned by American prose-fiction writers during the period under consideration. Here it is shown that the philosophy of primitivism and the concept of the noble savage played a consistently important role in works of this variety even after these concepts had lost some of their vogue in other literary genres.

Concerned with drama, the fifth chapter shows that this literary type might well serve as a kind of summary of the vicissitudes of Pocahontas's varied career as a subject in American literature. In turn we find her treated in serious drama, melodramaticized, burlesqued, and made the heroine of highly romantic comedies and other light dramatic forms.

The sixth chapter of the study is devoted to a discussion of the numerous verse treatments of episodes from the life of the Indian princess which appeared during the period under consideration. It is shown that, even though they are far more numerous than their counterparts in the

novel and the drama, these poetic efforts are certainly of no more intrinsic literary merit. This is true because on the whole, they are hastily done, occasional pieces--the product of versifiers whom the more caustic critics might categorize as "second rate" and whom the more kindly ones might refer to as "minor poets."

From the time that Captain Smith introduced it to the printed page, the Pocahontas story has enjoyed an almost universal appeal. Part of this may derive from the fact that it represents the retelling of a tale that is to be found in the folk tradition of almost every culture, but much of the story's popularity probably arises from its Americanness. Here one finds a heroine who symbolically embodies all of the best qualities of the Aboriginal American--qualities of the "noble savage" which become all the more impressive when presented, as they are, in vivid contrast to the "bad Indian" that is her destroyer father. Also, the story becomes even more American when one remembers that this Indian girl really is the physical ancestress of one of the nation's most prominent families, the proud and prolific Randolphs of Virginia. Finally, in the hands of later writers Pocahontas becomes more than a symbol of the noble savage when, as a sort of "American Earth Mother," she embodies the new race which has sprung into being in the New World and ultimately is elevated to the level of myth in a symbolic affirmation of

the hopes and aspirations that make up the American Dream. The vast potential of this theme for artistic development is demonstrated by the almost uninterrupted stream of factual treatments which the Pocahontas story has enjoyed in the hands of American authors who followed Smith. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, controversy has raged over Smith's veracity. But be it truth or be it fiction, the Pocahontas story remains as America's oldest matter of national and cultural romance. As such it has become a basic part of Americana that has made its presence felt whenever a writer has written of early Virginia for readers who possess a taste for a "pretty, romantic story."

FOREWORD

If one thoughtfully considers the presentation of American subjects by American authors, he will find that there is no single incident in the early American experience that has been more widely, more continuously, or more variously treated than the story of Pocahontas's rescue of Captain John Smith from the Powhatan executioner's club. By some writers this story, whose origins are as old as those of the nation itself, is viewed as a veracious portion of a chronicle of early Virginia history. By others it is approached as a hybrid of fact and fancy which makes for a pretty, romantic story. Yet another group of authors see it as the basis of a scholarly debate over the veracity of John Smith, who was not only involved in the action but was also the first and most famous teller of the Pocahontas story. Finally, in the hands of a few writers, this compassionate Indian maid, who seems to have played such a vital role in the survival of the Jamestowners in general and of John Smith in particular, becomes a sort of mythic symbol of the promise of the American wilderness; Smith becomes an embodiment of the American pioneer spirit; and as will be shown, the two of them anticipate the achievement of the American national destiny. Many of these points are clearly suggested in an essay that was first published by the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography

in 1957 in which Jay B. Hubbell briefly comments on a number of works which treat the Smith-Pocahontas theme. In some ways, at least, the present study represents an extension of or an elaboration upon Professor Hubbell's remarks.

Whereas the Hubbell essay primarily concerns itself with the rescue scene, however, the present investigation will extend the scope of its definition of the "Pocahontas story" to include a broader segment of the life of the Indian princess. It will, like the earlier essay, begin with the rescue of Smith, but it will also include accounts of other less familiar, but equally romantic, episodes that occurred during the decade of Pocahontas's life that remained after her first meeting with Captain Smith. With this assumption of breadth, the study will, of necessity, limit its chronological scope. Therefore, it is the intent of this investigation to examine thoroughly the origins of the Pocahontas story in the works of Smith and his contemporaries and to trace carefully its continuing impact upon our nation's literary development during the interim of approximately three hundred years that elapsed between the occurrence--real or imagined--of the rescue of Smith by Pocahontas and the celebration of the Jamestown tricentennial in 1907. The choice of the point of departure for the study is obvious. It must begin at that point in time when the factual, or fabricated, basis of the story was produced by events conducive to such a narrative. The

selection of a termination date, on the other hand, requires a greater justification, but 1907 was chosen with several facts in mind. In the early years of the nineteenth century John Davis established the vogue of treating the Pocahontas story in creative literature, and in the wake of his efforts there followed a veritable spate of novels, dramas, and poems which by 1907 had grown sufficiently in number and variety to justify their serious analysis. Also by 1907 the great debate over the reliability of Smith as a historian that had raged during the last four decades of the nineteenth century had caused a sufficient number of prose arguments concerning the acceptance or rejection of Smith's Pocahontas story to be written, so that a study of them would seem productive. Finally--and most important of all--since the year 1907 represents a terminal point that occurs when public interest in the celebration of Jamestown's three hundredth anniversary inspired a number of new works related to the Pocahontas story, this high-water mark was considered to be a convenient juncture at which to terminate this project. This is not to forget, however, that the story continues to be treated after 1907 in creative and scholarly writing that almost invariably is of better artistic quality than these earlier treatments of the theme.

After a short introductory chapter devoted to a consideration of what one is able to discover about the life

history of Captain John Smith and that of Pocahontas prior to their first meeting, the attention of the study will become focused in the second chapter upon its real basis for being--the Smith accounts of the Pocahontas episodes. It is in these writings of Smith and, to a lesser degree, in those of his contemporaries that the very bases of all ensuing literary treatments of the Pocahontas story--both factual and fictional--are established. With this in mind, these early presentations of the various episodes of the Pocahontas story will be examined with great care and in considerable detail. The remaining chapters of the study will be devoted to a consideration of the use to which American writers in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries have put the Pocahontas materials in the non-fiction prose, prose fiction, drama, and poetry that have treated the subject.

In Chapter III the handling of the Pocahontas story by writers of non-fiction prose--historians, biographers, essayists, and the like--will be examined. In each case the author's fidelity to Smith's accounts as source material will be noted and the reasons for any deviations from that material in the form of embellishment or reduction will be analyzed. Also within the scope of this chapter the controversy over Smith's veracity in relating the Pocahontas episodes will be considered in detail.

In Chapter IV the investigation will be devoted to a consideration of the Pocahontas materials as they have fared in the hands of those American writers who, within the scope of the study, have dealt with the story of the Indian maid in the novel form. Here it will be shown that the philosophy of primitivism and the image of the noble savage became more pronounced in the treatments given the story by John Davis than had previously been the case. It will be demonstrated in this chapter also that Davis's approach in the handling of these materials had a continuing effect and that, even when the cult of the noble savage had lost much of its vogue with those who wrote in other genres, the novelists continued to present treatments of Pocahontas that were highly idealized and romantic.

In dealing with the drama, the fifth chapter will attempt to show that this genre might well serve as a kind of literary summary of the vicissitudes of Pocahontas's private life and the epitome of her varied career as a subject in American literature. In turn we will find her seriously treated, melodramaticized, burlesqued, and made the heroine of highly romantic comedies, operas, operettas, and other similarly light dramatic forms.

The sixth chapter of the study will be devoted to a discussion of the numerous treatments of episodes in the life of the Indian princess which were composed by poets during the nineteenth century and in the early years of

the ensuing one. It will be shown that, even though they are far more numerous than their creative counterparts in the novel and the drama, these poetic efforts are of no more real consequence. This is true because, on the whole, they are hastily done, occasional pieces--the products of versifiers whom the more caustic critics might categorize as "second rate" poets and whom the more kindly might refer to as "minor" ones.

From the time, then, that John Smith introduced it to the printed page, the Pocahontas story has enjoyed a continuing and peculiar appeal. Part of this popularity may derive from the fact that Smith's effort merely represents the repetition in an American setting of a tale that is to be found in the folk tradition of many cultures, but much of the story's appeal probably arises from its Americanness. In Pocahontas one finds a heroine who symbolically embodies all of the best qualities of the Aboriginal American--qualities of the noble savage which become all the more impressive when presented, as they always are, in vivid contrast to the "bad Indian" that is epitomized by her destroyer father. The flavor of the story becomes even more clearly American when one remembers that this Indian girl really is the physical ancestress of one of the nation's most prominent families, the proud and prolific Randolphs of Virginia. Finally, in the hands of mid-nineteenth-century writers Pocahontas becomes more than

a mere symbol of the noble savage. She is the "American Earth Mother" who is the maternal impetus of the new race of men who have sprung into being in the New World. Ultimately she is elevated by a group of modern poets--Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, and Hart Crane, to mention the major ones--to a level of myth which derives from projecting her as a symbol of the American soil--of the continent itself which invites exploration by the white man and in many ways serves as an affirmation of the hopes and aspirations that are the American Dream.

The appeal of this theme for the artist is clearly demonstrated as one examines the wide factual and creative exploitation of the Pocahontas story which has given rise to a great variety of literary treatments and to greatly divided scholarly opinion as to what actually occurred at Powhatan's village on that winter's day almost three hundred and seventy years ago. It is not the duty of the literary scholar to decide whether Smith's story is truth or fiction, and no such decision will be attempted in this study. For be it true or be it fabricated, the story has become a very basic part of Americana. It has assumed a position in American literature that makes it--if fiction--perhaps even more impressive than truth. It remains as America's oldest "matter" of national and cultural romance which yet makes its impact felt whenever any writer treats early Virginia

history for readers who possess a taste for a "pretty, romantic story."

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE STORY

The story of the swash-buckling English adventurer, Captain John Smith, and the captivating and compassionate Indian princess, Pocahontas, is one of the best loved and most widely repeated tales in the American popular tradition. One may or may not completely accept the veracity of Captain Smith's account of how he was snatched from the jaws of imminent death by Pocahontas's intercession on his behalf with her father, the powerful Chief Powhatan. But the Pocahontas-Smith-Rolfe episodes--occurring as they did during the early years in the history of the first permanent plantation of an English colony on the North American continent--became the basis of one of the earliest narratives--part history, part romance--that was a product of the Englishman's encounter with the American wilderness. As Professor Albert Keiser observes in his discussion of the subject, "It is deeply significant that the Indian should have made his appearance in American literature at the very beginning. . . . [for] unwittingly the first 'American' author (Smith) originated a literary tradition both vital and far-reaching."[1]

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[1]Albert Keiser, The Indian in American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 1.

Any inquiry into the forces that motivated that hapless band of one hundred and five pioneers to set sail from the Thames for the uncharted wilds of Virginia in December of 1606 would reveal a kind of dual impetus at work: economic gain in conjunction with social betterment. After their landing on a peninsula extending out into the James estuary in May of the following year, it was not long before other, even more pressing, considerations assumed increasing importance. Along with such previous prime concerns of the settlers as slaking their thirst for gold or fulfilling their desire to escape from harassing, unpleasant, and even threatening conditions which had been their lot on the other side of the Atlantic, another previously unforeseen problem that soon presented a new challenge for them was that of mere self-preservation in the face of the threats of pestilence, disease, famine, and hostile Indian tribes. Survival for those early Virginians was a condition predicated upon their innate ability to meet the challenges which this "strange, New World" presented and upon their learning to co-exist with the "tawny-skinned" savages whom they found already entrenched as inhabitants of the land when they arrived.

Dealing effectively with such concerns as these required courage, ingenuity, and foresight as well as hard, back-breaking work which would naturally be greatly disdained by a group who had left England only a few months earlier with visions of gold nuggets and pearls as big as

one's fist that could be scooped up merely for the taking. In other words, survival of the entire settlement depended upon the kind of productive leadership that only Captain John Smith and a few others in the company who were of his stature were able to provide.

John Smith was but twenty-seven years of age when he arrived on Virginia soil with the group of adventurers who had decided to risk their very lives in yet another attempt at placing a permanent English settlement in the wilds of North America. But if one can accept Smith's own claims about his life story, he was, even at such a relatively early age, certainly no novice in dealing with the kinds of challenge that the situations in the new colony offered. He comes across to the reader as a burly braggadocio who overbearingly exudes self-centeredness in every line of his autobiographical prose. But as one considers the case, his accomplishments often equal his boasts. And he shows himself to be an administratively gifted soldier, navigator, cartographer, and diplomat in dealing with the task of governing the colony and in maintaining successful relationships with the neighboring Indian tribes. As an author Smith's zest for adventure and his romantic view of things is evidenced on almost every page as he demonstrates his real talent for blending the raw material of his own experience with liberal doses of his vivid

imagination.[2] Such an approach, when it is developed by Smith in his writing of his own life story, makes for an account which reads more like a tale from the "Arabian Nights" than like a true autobiography. It is significant to note in reading Smith's accounts of those things that befell him in his "Travels" that those pieces written in his maturer years--those years just before his death in 1631 at the age of fifty-one--tend to be the most dramatic and fanciful.[3] The most readable version, then, of that portion of this Elizabethan adventurer's self-portrait which deals in turn with the station of his family, with his early education, and with those adventures which led up to that juncture in his life when he turned his thoughts toward Virginia and colonization is to be found in Part I of a work entitled The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629, together with a Continuation of

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[2]Edward Arber, ed., Captain John Smith: Works (Birmingham, England: Unwin Brothers, 1884), "Preface," pp. ix-xii. Although the Arber-Bradley edition is preferable, this particular passage is not contained in the later edition.

[3]Thomas Secombe, "A Bibliographical Note" in Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1586-1631. ed. Edward Arber. A New Edition with a Critical and Biographical Introduction by A. G. Bradley (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), p. xxvii. This is the standard edition of Smith's works and will be used throughout with the reference: Smith, Works.

his General History of Virginia.[4] This work was issued in London in 1630 about a year before the death of its author.

According to accounts presented in The True Travels, which in many respects reads like the episodic romances that enjoyed such vogue with middle-class audiences in Elizabethan England, Smith's European experiences unfold the pleasing story of a farm boy who runs away from the oppressive boredom of his rural existence and goes in search of a "faerie" world of high adventure. Having recorded that he was born of yeoman stock as the son of George and Alice Smith on January 9, 1580, near the Lincolnshire village of Willoughby[5] and having traced his early childhood and his education in the grammar schools of Louth and Alford, Smith tells of his unsuccessful first attempt to get away to sea by apprenticing himself to "the greatest Merchant of all those parts,"[6] Thomas Sendall of Lynn. Unhappily for the aspiring young adventurer, his actual lot in Sendall's service proved to be the drudgery of the counting house. After his father's death in 1596, Smith, as a lad of sixteen, left his place of employment in Lynn and went to London. There he demanded, and finally received, from his guardians a sufficient portion of the proceeds from some freehold

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[4]Ibid., "Arber's Introduction," p. xxii.

[5]Smith, Works, "Arber's Introduction," I, xix-xxi.

[6]John Smith, The True Travels, in Smith, Works, II, 822.

pasture land and a sum of money that was his only patrimony so that he could gratify his typical Tudor-boy's desire to see the world. Having been provided with this "substantial sum" of ten shillings, Smith set out for Orleans with one Bertie, the younger son of his patron Lord Willoughby, whose intention it was to complete his education there. After seeing his traveling companion safely settled at their destination with an elder son of his patron who was already domiciled there, Smith was dispatched for home with a sum of money which was adequate for the journey. Our novice traveler got no farther than Paris, however, before he met a wily Scotsman who gained his confidence by talk of valuable introductions which he could provide Smith to the worthies of Edinburgh and then succeeded in relieving the young adventurer of all his financial resources. Without funds and in a city where he had no acquaintances to turn to for assistance, Smith eagerly accepted an invitation tendered by a Captain Duxworthy, the leader of a group of English free lancers, to join his troop. During the next year or two Smith was affiliated with this group and saw some service in Flanders. With the coming of peace, however, Smith found himself at loose ends and started a homeward journey to England but was shipwrecked on Holy Island and remained there for some time because of an illness which he attributed to exposure. Having recovered his health, he resumed his journey. But this time,

remembering the letters of introduction that he had received in Paris from his "friend" the Scotsman, he set out for Edinburgh, presented his letters and was received with cordiality but gained nothing more than entertainment for his visit. Following his Scottish sojourn, Smith concluded the first phase of his knight errantry as he returned home to Willoughby. The young adventurer was warmly received at first but then gained some reputation for eccentricity because he elected to camp out in a fair meadow by a wood with his horse, his arms, and his copies of Marcus Aurelius and Machiavelli's art of war. Having spent some time in solitude "exercising his limbs with the first and his mind"[7] with the latter, Smith, at the urging of his friends, returned to a more normal existence and took up residence in the establishment of the Earl of Lincoln. There he was able to acquire some of the niceties of living in a refined and cultured atmosphere.

Such a way of life hardly suited Smith's adventurous nature, however, and he soon set out once again for the low countries in the company of three strange gallants who proved to be swindlers as they cheated and robbed him, though not--as had occurred in the earlier case with the Scotsman in Paris--without some measure of revenge on the part of their young companion. Once again stranded and

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[7]Smith, Works, I, iv.

without funds, Smith was rescued this time by a French soldier who generously provided him with both guidance and money and directed him to a Breton castle whose owner was, by rare coincidence, an acquaintance of his patron, Lord Willoughby. Smith's new-found friend treated him handsomely and sent him on his way well provided with an ample supply of money and with letters of introduction which would enhance the young man's chances to serve in the wars that were presently raging between the Turks and the Austrians. Traveling to Marseilles, he shipped for Italy; but a fierce storm arose and the Italians, holding Smith to be a Jonah because he was an alien and a heretic (an Englishman and a Protestant), flung him overboard off the coast of Nice near the isle of Santa Maria. The lad swam easily to shore, and there he found two ships that had been driven aground by the storm. As luck would have it, the owner of one of these proved to be a friendly neighbor of Smith's most recent benefactor, the noble Breton Ployer. Taken on board, Smith remained for a time with his new-found friend and engaged in a bit of successful privateering from which he gained his fair share of the profit. With this money in his pocket, he again set out for Italy and this time was successful in reaching his destination. Here he satisfied, through his visits to Rome and other places, an ardent interest in geography that was to be characteristic of him throughout the remainder of his life and was to play a major

role in developing a style of living which would lead him finally to the settlement at Jamestown.

Upon returning from his tour of Italy Smith remembered his former desire to fight the Turks, and in 1602, at the age of twenty-two, he joined the forces of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, at Gratz and remained in that service for the next year or two. Flushed with some signal successes, the Turks were seriously threatening the Christian nations of Eastern Europe, and it remained for the bloody campaigns in Transylvania and along the Hungarian border to turn the tide of the war. Smith, who served in the Austrian army during these campaigns first as a captain and then as a major, is sometimes the egotist in the descriptions of the battles which he included in The True Travels. But just as often he omits his own name as he relates the valorous deeds that he witnessed or in which he played a more or less minor role. One of the most dramatic episodes described by Smith relates directly to his own involvement in these wars and has to do with his doing battle with and dispatching three of his Turkish adversaries in a series of single combats.[8] And the close of Smith's military career in the East is also dramatic enough as we view him left for dead on the battlefield amid the carnage created by the desperate efforts of his well-beloved leader

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[8]John Smith, The True Travels, in Smith, Works, II, 838.

Meldritch to cut his way through an overpowering horde of Turks. Picked up alive, however, Smith was placed in chains in a slave gang and sold in the local market to a minor Turkish bashaw who sent him as a present to a Greek Mohammedan lady at Constantinople, labeled as a Bohemian nobleman who was the captive of the Bashaw's own bow and spear. Tragbigzanda was wooed by the Bashaw, but Smith, though he freely confessed to be below her in rank, quickly gained that lady's favor. So taken was she with her slave that she attempted to give him his freedom in the only way she dared, and she sent him up to her brother who held a Turkish fief east of the Black Sea. Up to this point Smith had always relied upon men for relief in his hour of trial (consider Captain Duxworthy in Paris, the noble Breton Ployer, and the ship captain on Santa Maria island, for example); but from this point onward it is the ladies who come to Smith's rescue as the following recital found in the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the Generall Historie of Virginia, etc. indicates:

> Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous Ladies, and comparable but among themselves, haue offered me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts, I have felt relief from that sex. The beauteous Lady Tragbigzanda, when I was a slave to the Turkes, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the Bashaw of Nalbrits in Tartaria, the charitable Lady Callamata supplied my necessities. In the vtmost of many extremities, that blessed Pocahontas; the great Kings daughter of Virginia, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small Boat

> at Sea, and driven ashore in France, the good Lady Madam Chanoves, bountifully assisted me.[9]

Tragbigzanda's brother took another view in the matter of Smith's freedom, however, made this new acquisition his "slave of slaves," and treated him so brutally that Smith finally beat out his tormentor's brains with a flail one day (Note the similarity here to the method that the Powhatans were about to apply in Smith's execution when Pocahontas interceded to save him), dressed himself in his late master's clothes, and turned his face westward toward territory that was unfamiliar to him but which he felt offered the surest route of escape. After enduring much suffering, and with the slave's collar still fast around his ncek, Smith reached a Russian port where he was treated well, was supplied--as always--with money, and was sent on his way with a caravan to the West. Ultimately, Smith found his way to "Leipsic" and to his old leaders Meldritch and Sigismund who were then there. Welcomed as one from the dead, Smith was readily given his arrears in pay and more.

Once more well supplied with funds, Smith had no thoughts of Lincolnshire but followed his roving instincts to North Africa with a view to more fighting. He found the petty squabbles of the Barbary States not to his taste, however, and spent some time traveling on shore with a French skipper. Ultimately seeking the coast, the two

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[9]Smith, Works, I, pp. 276-77.

resolved to seek some sea adventures. After much visiting on various ships, many fights which Smith describes as "pretty," and wide involvement in humorous escapades, the pair of adventurers get back to port with some profit but much disabled by their experience. It is at this point that our hero at last felt a craving for England and satisfied that desire without further misadventure.

Thus ends the accounts of the early adventures of Captain John Smith as they are related in The True Travels. Even if the episodes given here had been mainly fiction,[10] they would still have the merit of being fiction of a stimulating kind written in a delightful colloquial English that so often did much to add a realistic effect to the popular romances of the day. One may fairly wonder, along with A. G. Bradley who discusses this matter in his excellent introduction to the 1910 revision of the Edward Arber edition of The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, whether Smith or "any Englishman of twenty-four at that day, had seen and done so much."[11] Later scholars, however, have studied this matter thoroughly and have unearthed much evidence which supports

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[10]That they were not mere fictions is proven emphatically by Philip L. Barbour. See: "Part I. Adventurer" in The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), pp. 1-78.

[11]Smith, Works, I, viii.

the veracity of Smith's accounts of his European adventures.[12]

It was on yet another continent, however, that an adventure-hungry, young John Smith was to accomplish that part of his life's work that really mattered--that part which was to perpetuate his rather commonplace name which was to ring down through the ages in a blend of history and legend that is contained in the Pocahontas-John Smith story. Upon his return from his adventures in the East, Smith found an England which was seething with exploratory fervor. After an interval of wandering in Ireland about which less is known than of any other period in John Smith's life, he caught the prevailing enthusiasm for exploring lands beyond the sea and soon put his share of it into a practical form. He did this by investing his money in Virginia stock, by using his time in recruiting other financial backers for the project as well as enlisting members of the company who would actually establish a settlement in the colony, and by expending his energy to the extent that he went out with that company as a member of its governing council.

With regard to the pre-1607 background of the other major character, Pocahontas, who will play an even more

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[12]For the most worthy of the recent studies of this matter, see: Bradford Smith and Laura Polyani Striker, "Rehabilitation of Captain John Smith," Journal of Southern History, XXVIII (Nov., 1962), 474-81; and Barbour, Three Worlds.

significant role in that marriage of fact and legend with which this study is concerned, there is no such elaborate record as that presented in the autobiographical The True Travels from which we have drawn our pre-Virginia portrait of Captain Smith. Indeed, with the exception of those years which approximate the second half of her brief life--that period extending from her first meeting with John Smith in 1607 to her burial at Gravesend in 1617--wretchedly little is ascertainable about this Indian princess whom Philip Young refers to in an essay as "The Mother of Us All."[13] From available accounts one can surmise that she was born about 1595 or 1596 and that she was the dearest daughter of Wahunsonacock, the chief of chiefs of the Powhatan nation, who had adopted the tribal name as his own. This would have made Pocahontas about eleven or twelve years of age when she first met Captain Smith on that fateful December day in 1607.[14] Because of the fact that the Indians were by nature a people who were not prone to any logical system of record keeping, we can only speculate about the kind of formative influences that were at work during the first

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[13]Philip Young, "The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered," The Kenyon Review, 24 (Summer, 1962), 391-415.

[14]Philip Barbour, Pocahontas and Her World (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1969), p. 6; Grace Steele Woodward, Pocahontas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 39 both place the date of Pocahontas's birth in 1596 or 1597.

decade or so of the life of this Indian princess. We do know that she spent these years of her infancy and early childhood in a pagan Powhatan culture devoted to dark superstitions and devil worship--a way of life that centered on savage cruelty and primitive social accomplishments. It was from this sort of savage background that Pocahontas, as a child who seemed both perceptive and compassionate beyond her years, came forth to play her oft-assumed role of savior of the Englishman who had established the colony at Jamestown. It was she then, through her acts of kindness, who made it possible for this first permanent English settlement in the New World to endure, and it was thus through her efforts that the American nation for all time to come was to bear the stamp of a predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture. The fact that she was her father's favorite has been made much of by writers from Smith's time to the present, and certainly this apparent fondness on Powhatan's part seems to have been a contributing factor in making possible the services that this child was able to perform on behalf of her English friends. From her earliest encounter with the white captain, she was, as Smith describes her, the very "Nonpariel"[15] among her people as far as her attitude towards the colonists was concerned. She did not share the Indian's general hostility toward the

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[15]Smith, A True Relation, in Works, I, p. 38.

English, and it is this fact that elevates her into the place that she holds in history. Indeed, that she is the most famous of all Indian women derives from the fact that she acted in a manner generally contrary to the one exhibited by her people. Encountering a new culture, she responded with curiosity and concern, and she accepted the potential for change and development within herself. In sum, one may say that she rose surely and dramatically above the ignorance and savagery of her people whom the Jamestowners termed "naked slaves of the devill."[16]

The history of Pocahontas, then, is a record of her cultural, intellectual, and spiritual growth. As such it is the story of her rare achievement as a human being and as a historical figure whose original name, Matoaka, gave way first to the name found most frequently in history, Pocahontas, and finally became Lady Rebecca Rolfe when she was baptised as the first American Indian to become a Christian. Along with this last change she had become the bride of a prominent Virginia planter, John Rolfe.

Based on what we know for a certainty, on what we are able to conjecture about the matter, and on what our imagination provides for us about the life of the little Indian maid who grew up in Powhaton's village to become "The

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[16]Reverend Alexander Whitaker, Good Newes From Virginia (1613; rpt. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1937), pp. 23-24.

Mother of Us All," Pocahontas's appearances in the works of historians and other writers of non-fiction prose who have contributed to American literature have been tantalizingly suggestive, but too infrequent to satisfy the reading public's appetite for treatments of the subject. Thus the creative writers who have contributed prose-fiction pieces, plays, and poems to American belles-lettres have romantically developed the Pocahontas theme as they have seized upon the few authentic glimpses of her life that were available to them and have filled in this outline of contemporary record with details drawn from their sometimes overly fertile imaginations. It is the intention of this study to concern itself first with the accounts dealing with Pocahontas that were produced during the first third of the seventeenth century, for here is the bedrock upon which the later, more fanciful treatments of the theme will be errected. Having gleaned the facts from what was written by contemporaries of the Indian princess, it is then our plan to devote ensuing chapters to the Pocahontas story as it appears in works fashioned by nonfiction-prose writers, by writers of prose-fiction, by dramatists, and by poets who wrote in America between 1640 and up to and including the spate of works that appeared in conjunction with the Jamestown Tricentennial Celebration which was held during 1907 and 1908. Not only a work's artistic merit and its contribution to the further development of the Pocahontas

theme, but also its reflection of American character, life, hopes, aspirations, religious values, and philosophical concepts will be the subject of consideration in the process of this study.

CHAPTER II

THE GENESIS OF THE POCAHONTAS STORY

After establishing themselves in the settlement at Jamestown on May 14, 1607, a group of one hundred and five hungry men did not take long to consume what little food there was left in their larder after a protracted six-month ocean voyage. Supplies, which would have been short even if used prudently, dwindled at an alarming rate in the face of poor management. To those who were blessed with any degree of foresight in the matter, it soon became abundantly clear that the settlers would have to rely upon their own resourcefulness to replenish their food supplies if the colony was to be spared the fate that had befallen all earlier attempts to establish any sort of permanent English plantation in this vast and challenging wilderness. Farmers and hunters were needed to practice their skills if the colony was to be self-sufficient in its preparation for the time when the dwindling supplies would be exhausted; but few of this group of adventurers, whose purses seemed to be their main centers of interest, had either the skill or the inclination which would have made them able to provide the absolute necessities in either of these directions.

The accounts coming down from these troubled times during the early days of the Virginia settlement at

Jamestown suggest that settlers were conscious of two alternative solutions to the problem of supply which were predicated neither upon the colonists having to devote themselves to the acquisition of the arts of the farmer and hunter nor upon the abandonment of their colonial venture.[1] The first and less prudent of these alternatives had to do with a belief on the part of some of the colonists that the group of London merchants who had first organized and financed the expedition would sustain their colonial venture, and thus protect their monetary investment, with continuing shipments of those commodities which were essential for its continuance. To some slight degree this

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[1]Although Captain John Smith's works offer the most readable eyewitness accounts of what occurred during the early days of the English attempt to establish themselves at Jamestown, other men--who were contemporaries of Smith and participaters in these affairs--also left works which contribute much toward our understanding of what those who were living in that first colony underwent. The following is a selective list which will indicate the authorship and the sequence in which they were written of some of the more important of these accounts by those who experienced these hardships first hand: Captain Christopher Newport, Discoveries in Virginia, 1607; Master George Percy, Observations, 1607; Edward Maria Wingfield, A Discourse of Virginia, 1608; Captain John Smith, A True Relation, 1608; Captain John Smith, A Map of Virginia (Part II): "The Proceedings of the English Colonies in Virginia, taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley, the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Russell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wiffin, Thomas Abbay, The: Hope, Rich: Pots and the labours of divers other diligent observers that were residents in Virginia," 1612; and finally the fullest and hence most important record: Captain John Smith and others, The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, 1624.

assumption was a valid one; but with England thousands of sea miles away, with the conditions of ocean transport as uncertain as they were at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and with the financial sponsors of the colony looking more to profit from their investment than to further expenditures, there was certainly no way that the survival of the little band of settlers at Jamestown would be wholly achieved for any extended period of time through shipments of supplies that were dispatched from England under the auspices of the London Virginia Company. The other, apparently more viable, solution to their shortage of life sustaining food seemed to lie in the fact that in the woodlands that were adjacent to their settlement there lived and flourished thousands of red-skinned savages who seemed to be quite adept in practicing the arts of the farmer and hunter which were essential in extracting the necessities of life from the wilderness. The colonists reasoned that since these were savage, and thus gullible, creatures, they had only to find out what trinkets might appeal to their primitive taste and to employ this information in establishing a system of barter by which they could trade relatively worthless items for those foodstuffs that were so essential to them. With this second alternative in mind, then, expeditions were sent out from the relative security of the fort which shielded the Jamestown settlement to explore the uncharted upper reaches

of the James estuary and its tributaries as well as to acquaint the colonists with the topographical nature of the wilderness which bordered these waters and with the savage peoples who inhabited these lands and who might be tapped as a source of productive trade. Through a mixture of diplomacy and bullying in their dealings with the Indians, these expeditions met with a modicum of success,[2] and it was on just such a trip, that was made in December of 1607 and January of 1608 by a group led by Captain John Smith, that our story of Pocahontas begins. According to Smith's own accounts of the matter, he had, on several occasions earlier than that mentioned above, proved himself to be equal to the task of bartering successfully with the Indians. The portrait that Smith projects of himself as a trader always indicates a mixture of firmness and cajolery which apparently appealed to the Indians. Before he had made many such trips into the red man's territory, we find the natives accepting the claim of this stocky white man with the bushy red beard that he is in charge of bartering at the white settlement and that they should do all their trading with him. Thus, with this measure of success as a trader behind him and with the idle mutterings of certain dissident colonists because he had not found the "head of the

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[2]Of course, according to the braggadocio, John Smith, his efforts here, as elsewhere, were supremely successful.

Chickahamania river"[3] on earlier expeditions to spur him on, Smith set out then on that frigid December day on what was to become the most historically and literarily famous of all the early exploratory ventures into the American wilderness.

Since no other eyewitness accounts concerning the events that occurred during this expedition are extant, it becomes necessary for us to rely on Smith's testimony in the matter as it is presented at length for the first time in A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Colony--a publication that saw its way through the presses in 1608, as it is repeated in ensuing works that were printed either with Smith as their author or with his name appended to give them his stamp of approval, or as it is presented in its even more elaborately embroidered form in The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles which was not published until some sixteen years after the fact in 1624. In each case Smith, or whoever is telling the story at that particular juncture, records that as he came to the last Chickahominy village--which the Captain shows on his map of Virginia as

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[3]John Smith, The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, ed. Edward Arber. A New Edition with a Critical and Biographical Introduction by A. G. Bradley (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), II, 395. Hereafter referred to as Smith, Works.

Appecant[4]--he discovered that his barge could go no farther up the increasingly shallow stream and that he left this vehicle behind with most of his party. His people he instructed to keep away from the shore and well out into the broad bay where they would be safe from Indian attack--instructions which, by the way, were generally ignored, much to the sorrow of those who ignored them. Having given these prudent instructions, however, and having secured a canoe from two Indians, Smith set out with "two English (John Robinson and Thomas Emery) and two Salvages"[5] to proceed farther up stream on his river expedition. About twenty miles above Apokant[6] Smith, finding that even the further progress of his canoe was impeded by the shallowness of the stream and leaving his two white companions and one of the Indian guides behind with the canoe, set out on foot to reconnoiter the area and to search for food. Smith tells us that before he had gone very far from the point where he had beached his canoe, he became aware of a great number of Indians [at one point he places the number at two hundred (A True Relation, p. 15); at another the number becomes

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[4]See "Map of Virginia" inserted between Book II and Book III of Smith's Generall Historie, in Smith, Works, II, 384-85.

[5]The Generall Historie, Bk. III, in Smith, Works, II, 395.

[6]The spelling here varies from that found on the map that Smith constructed, but this variant is found in the text of A True Relation, in Smith, Works, I, 14.

three hundred (the Generall Historie, p. 395)] who were members of a hunting part that had discovered and slain both Robinson and Emery and now had him and his guide surrounded. In a fashion appropriate for the brave soldier, Smith stands undaunted in the face of these seeming overwhelming odds as he uses his guide for a shield and his pistol as an equalizer against this mass of screaming, charging savages. The battle proves to be a standoff until Smith, by his own admission more concerned with his adversaries than with his footing, steps into an "oasie creeke" (a patch of mud) and pulls his Indian guide, whom he has strapped to his arm with his garters, into the quagmire with him. Faced with such a reversal in the course of his circumstances, Smith surrendered his weapons; whereupon he was extracted from his sticky situation and restored to dry land by the savages and made their prisoner. Displaying his usual bravado even in defeat, Smith demanded that the Indians immediately take him to their Captain, and they responded by taking him to their werowance, Opechancanough, an Indian sub-chief whom Smith had encountered on an expedition up the James River some six months earlier. When his demands were heeded, Smith, relying on the fact that the Indians were always curious about any sort of novelty, produced an ivory compass from his pocket as a trinket for the inspection of the chief. Opechancanough and his warriors were fascinated by the moving needle of the compass which always pointed in the

same direction and--since they had never seen glass before--by the fact that while it could be seen it could not be touched by them. Although they were at first intrigued by this gadget, it did not take long for the warriors to become impatient, and they tied Smith to a tree as if preparing to execute him. As always proved to be Smith's fate, however, at the last dramatic moment, Opechancanough stepped in holding up the compass and announced that Smith would not be executed but was to be taken as a prisoner to Powhatan, their chief of chiefs. The warriors accepted this decision, and there ensued a march of four or five days length during which the white prisoner was shown off in the various Indian settlements along the route, became the object of much interest to the spectator Indians, and provided the occasion for a great deal of feasting and dancing during which Smith was often treated more like an honored guest than a prisoner. At one juncture along the route Smith, by having written a message which he persuaded native runners to deliver to the settlement at Jamestown and by having predicted beforehand the exact reactions of the white settlers when they received his note, reinforced the awe of him which the compass had earlier instilled in the Indians.[7]

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[7]The episodes which are related here are repeated in several of Smith's writings, but they are dealt with most fully in Smith, Works, I, 15-18; II, 395-98.

All of these episodes lead up to Smith's arrival at Werowocomoco, the seat of Powhatan's government, and to his first meeting with Pocahontas--alias Matoaka--the young Indian princess whose actions on his behalf were to insure for all time a place for his name in the annals of popular history. Upon his arrival Captain Smith was led to the major house in the village where he found:

> their Emperour proudly lying vppon a Bedstead a foote high, vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and couered with a great Covering of Rahaughcums (Raccoon skins). At [his] heade sat a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each [with] a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their shoulders, their heades painted in redde: and with such a graue and Maiesticall countenance as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage.[8]

A True Relation and The Generall Historie of Virginia generally agree in the account of Smith's arrival at Powhatan's court cited above, but at this juncture they part company. The latter work comes to tell, in its most expanded version, the story of Smith's experience in the village of the Powhatans and of the manner in which Pocahontas became Smith's savior and indirectly, through her preservation of the life of their leader, of the entire Jamestown settlement. Smith continues his account by relating to his reader that as he entered all the

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[8]Smith, Works, I, 18-19; II, 399-400.

savages--whom he calls "grim courtiers"--gave a mighty shout and soon thereafter the Queen of "Appamatuck" brought him water to wash his hands. Following this another brought him a bunch of feathers instead of a towel so that he might dry them. The next phase of this somewhat ritualistic performance involved a sumptuous feast which was set before Smith. Then came some sort of speech delivered by Powhatan which Smith, hampered as he was by his unfamiliarity with the Indian language, took to be a message of welcome. As Smith ate, however, a long consultation was being held among the Indians and when the meal was completed, the whole tenor of the prisoner's situation was suddenly altered. Two large stones were brought into the hall and placed before the spot where the emperor lounged, and Smith was seized by the savages who "dragged him to them (the stones) and theron laid his head, and being ready with their clubbes, to beat out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death."[9] This noble

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[9]Although Smith's rescue by Pocahontas is presented in some detail in a letter that he later claimed to have written to Queen Anne on behalf of the princess in 1616, this epistle did not appear in print until some eight years later. The first published allusion to the episode appeared in the new and enlarged edition of New England Trials which appeared in 1622, and it remained for the letter in question and a thoroughly embroidered account of the rescue to be circulated in The General History of Virginia, New England and The Summer Isles that saw its way through the presses in 1624.

action on the part of his favorite child apparently moved the Indian emperor, and Smith's life was spared with the stipulation that he would make hatchets for Powhatan and would fashion bells, beads and trinkets of copper for the pleasure of the young princess who had just saved him. Smith's captivity continued for two more days at which time Powhatan visited the place where the captain was confined and, after he had questioned him about the reasons for the presence of the English settlers in his domain, told him that if he would send him two large guns (cannon) and a grindstone upon his arrival at the settlement, he would be permitted to return to the fort at Jamestown.[10] These terms were agreeable to Smith, primarily because he knew that the cannon at the fort were far too heavy for the Indians to move, and so on January the eighth, more than three full weeks after his departure, Smith returned home in the company of a band of his Indian captors, and it is possible--although we have no record to substantiate this--that Princess Pocahontas accompanied him.

Thus we find in Smith's accounts which deal with these matters the most universally famous of all of the captivity narratives that were written by those who were fortunate enough to live so that they could tell about their experiences after having been captured by the neighboring

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[10]Smith, Works, II, 400-01.

savages. Although Smith's veracity concerning the scene in which he was rescued by Pocahontas was severely impugned by certain American historians and antiquarians during the last half of the nineteenth century (a set of opinions that will be discussed at length in an ensuing chapter of this study), from the time of its first publication in its most thoroughly embroidered form in the General Historie until the present date some three hundred and seventy years later, there is to be found in all the annals of American historical literature no account with greater popular appeal than that of this romantic episode. It has been observed that this story, with a few minor embellishments or alterations, is the one most universally known by every American schoolboy.[11]

Once this first recorded meeting between Pocahontas and John Smith had occurred it seems that a continuing relationship, which was frequently the only means of saving the Jamestowners from the constant threat of starvation, developed between the Indian princess and the English captain. On the same page with the account of Smith's return to the English settlement, one finds apparently one of the other writers (this must be either Thomas Studley, Edward Harrington, or Robert Fenton, and not Smith writing since the captain is referred to in the third person)

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[11]A. G. Bradley, "Introduction" in Smith, Works, I, xiv.

informing him that

> Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him (Smith) so much provision, that saved many of their liues, that els for all this had starved with hunger.[12]

and ending this reference to the good deeds done by Pocahontas on their behalf with a couplet which reads:

> Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
> The sweete asswager of all other griefe.[13]

In truth, this is merely a shorter version of an entry that had appeared several years earlier in the second part of A Map of Virginia that was published in 1612 under the sponsorship of Smith but with this particular entry printed over the signature of Richard Pots and W[illiam] P[hettiplace]. This earlier description of Pocahontas's role as ministrant to the colony and of the possible cause for her service as being traceable to her affection for Smith reads:

> . . . Some prophetical spirit calculated hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue made himselfe a king, by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected . . . . But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discreation he

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[12]Smith, Works, II, 401.

[13]Ibid.

might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.)[14]

To a lesser degree the high esteem in which Captain Smith held Pocahontas was beneficial to the Indians, for it made it possible for Powhatan to use his daughter as a negotiator with the white settlers whenever he wished to obtain concessions from them. A case in point is an episode related at various junctures in the works that Smith was associated with either as the author or as the individual under whose name a compilation of various accounts was presented. It seems that Smith had on one occasion taken into custody seven villainous Indians and that Powhaton wished to obtain their release. Near the end of A True Relation, Smith writes concerning his incarceration of these savages and tells us that:

> Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Saluages, sent his Daughter, a child of tenne yeares old: which, not only for feature, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people: but for wit and spirit, [is] the only Nonpariel of his Country. This hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person; but of a subtill wit an crafty vnderstanding.
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> He, with a long circumstance, told mee, how well Powhatan loued and respected mee; and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me; a Deare and bread besides for a present; desiring me that the Boy (Thomas Salvage) might come againe, which he loued exceedingly. His litle Daughter hee had taught this lesson also, not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene prisoners three

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[14]Smith, Works, I, 168-69.

> daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie.
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> . . . . . .
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> In the afternoone they (the fathers and friends) being gone, we guarded them (the prisoners) as before to the Church; and after prayer, gaue them to Pocahuntas, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in sending her. After hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had; and with [their] much content, sent them packing. Pocahuntas also we requited with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed the Paspaheyans very kindly in so releasing them.[15]

In the second part of A Map of Virginia over the signatures of Thomas Studley[16] and Anas Todkill we find an account that is basically the same, though less elaborate than the one cited above. Here it is stated in no uncertain terms that Smith "delivered them (the prisoners) [to] Pocahontas; for whose sake only, he fained to saue their lives and graunt them liberty."[17] This relation of the episode by Studley(?) and Todkill is repeated verbatim when Captain Smith comes to include an account of this meeting with Pocahontas in the third book of the Generall Historie, and at that point

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[15]John Smith, A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony (London: John Trappe, 1608), no page numbers given. [pages 38 and 39 in Vol. I of the Bradley Edit.]

[16]As regards Studley this must have been an error, for he died on August 28, 1607 which was some nine months before the incident which is described here occurred. See Philip Barbour, The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 146.

[17]Smith, A Map of Virginia, II, Bradley Ed. I, 107.

in the latter work where this passage is presented it is documented by the compiler as having been excerpted from the work of these two writers.

From the preceding accounts one can fairly well understand how the early phases of the relationship between Smith and Pocahontas developed and from them he can get a relatively complete impression of the emotional nature and personality of the young princess. The reader will certainly get a very different picture of the Indian maid from that found in Smith's constant reaction to her as the "nonpariell of her people," however, if he examines a description of her which is offered to him by William Strachey and which takes a very different tone from Smith's as he depicts her as a "well-featured but wanton yong girl."[18] Before too much weight can be given to Strachey's account, however, it must be remembered that this bit of portraiture is reflective not of what its author had seen first hand but is only a presentation of the, more often than not, highly romanticized stories that those who claimed to have been eyewitnesses to the events in question had told him. Strachey--leaving little room for doubt by the reader who is unaware of the tenuousness of his sources--speaks in an extremely confident tone, however, as he gossips about

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[18]William Strachey, The Historie of Travell Into Virginia Britania, eds. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953), p. 72. [Most recent edition of the 1612 Ms. of Strachey's work.]

Pocahontas's frequent visits to the fort where, according to this author's information, she played in her prenubial nakedness as she leapfrogged and did cartwheels with the young cabin boys who were a part of the group that had settled at Jamestown.[19] This, as one can plainly see, is a very different image of the little Indian princess from that of the naturally precocious child whom Smith pictured as befriending him and as truly becoming an "angel of the wilds."

During the period of almost two years that elapsed between the time of Smith's release from Indian captivity and his departure from the Virginia colony in early October of 1609, one can conjecture--based on the accounts written by Smith and with support drawn from the records composed by his contemporaries--that the visits of Pocahontas to the Jamestown settlement continued to occur on a fairly regular basis. Drawing upon these authors for our information we may further suppose that these visits sometimes were missions of mercy on behalf of the hard-pressed colonists, sometimes were made as a means of negotiating some business matter with the colonists on her father's behalf, and on still other occasions were made simply for the purpose of visiting her recently acquired friend, John Smith, for whose welfare she had assumed responsibility on that wintry

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[19]Strachey, p. 72.

day when she laid her head between that of the English captain and the cudgels of his apparent would-be executioners.

During these months Captain Smith also made several visits to the village of Werowocomoco. More often than not these expeditions were made to obtain needed supplies of Indian corn, but on one occasion, at least, the captain went on other business which was extremely distasteful to him. In this instance, just after the arrival of the second supply from England, Smith journeyed to the Indian village, at the instigation of Captain Newport, to inform the tribal chief that there were presents of furniture and clothing awaiting him at Jamestown. Someone (it seems in the royal council of Virginia) had conceived the idea that Powhatan's favor could be gained and that he could be made a loyal subject of King James by the simple expedients of sending him presents which would buy his good will and of crowning him with a cheap copper crown, an action intended to make of him a willing subject-king of the English monarch. With these plans in mind, Newport was instructed to deliver a basin and ewer along with a bed and a bedstead to the Indian chief and to hold a coronation ceremony at which Powhatan was to be crowned with the copper crown--a ritual which was to be made seemingly more regal by draping the Indian potentate's shoulders in a scarlet woolen cloak. The entire ceremony was, in truth, a kind of mockery, but it was to be

carried out with the utmost solemnity. Orders were orders, but Smith could see nothing but trouble in any such currying of the savage chief's favor. From his own previous experience with the Indians, Smith knew that there was danger rather than security in making Powhatan seem to be more than an equal, and he dissuaded Newport from carrying out his orders to the point that the message which he finally carried to Werowomocomo referred only to presents and avoided any mention of coronation ceremonies.[20]

When Smith and his party, which included four Englishmen and the Indian Namontack who had just returned to Virginia from a brief visit to England, arrived at Powhatan's village, as luck would have it, the chief of chiefs was some thirty miles away, but he was presently sent for. In the interim before Powhatan's return, the Generall Historie tells us:

> . . . Pocahontas and her women entertained Captaine Smith in this manner.
>
> In a fayre plaine field they made a fire, before which, he sitting vpon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hydeous noise and shreeking, that the [five] English betooke themselues to their armes, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently Pocahontas came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter.
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> Then presently they were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came naked out of the woods, onely covered behind and before with a few

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[20]Smith, Works, I, 121-23.

> greene leaues, their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing, their leader [? Pocahontas] had a fayre payre of Bucks hornes on her head, and an Otters skinne at her girdle, and another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-sticke; all horned alike: the rest every one with their severall devises.
>
> These fiends with most hellish shouts and cryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and [then] solemnly againe to sing and daunce; having spent neare an houre in this Mascarado, as they entered in like manner they departed.
>
> Having reaccommodated themselues, they solemnly invited him [Smith] to their lodgings where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Loue you not me? loue you not me?
>
> This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the Salvage dainties they could devise: some attending, other's singing and dauncing about them; which mirth being ended, with fire-brands in stead of Torches they conducted him to his lodging.[21]

Thus we are provided with an account of Smith's attendance at a "Virginia Mask" as it is recorded in Book III of the Generall Historie of Virginia, where the story is attributed to Richard Wiffin, Jeffry Abbot, William Phittiplace, and Anas Todkill. An almost identical account of this same episode is to be found in the second part of Smith's earlier work A Map of Virginia, but it is significant to note that in this earlier version of the episode in which the Indian women entertained Smith and his men all

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[21]Smith, Works, II, 436.

references to Pocahontas and her role in the "mascarado" are omitted. One can gather from reading either of the two versions that this entertainment, even though at first it seemed threatening and later seemed to become embarrassing to the Englishmen, was a gesture of good will on the part of the Indian women. If, as the latter of the two accounts which is rendered in the Generall Historie would lead us to believe, Pocahontas was involved in the entertainment provided by the young women of Powhatan's village for their English guests, one might, along with Grace Steele Woodward, observe that "just as Pocahontas had [often] shared provisions with the English, now she shared with them a ritualistic celebration that expressed in its [own] unique way both the passion and the dignity of life."[22] Also we are able to see in this instance, and in Pocahontas's involvement in activities such as this ritual indicated, just how far she has moved at this juncture away from the child that Smith described in his first reference to her and in the direction of womanhood. From the compassionate ten-year-old who is pictured by Smith as his savior in the earlier account of the rescue scene, here Pocahontas has become a young, sensitive woman who, with the other maidens of her tribe, draws upon the cultural heritage

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[22]Grace Steele Woodward, Pocahontas (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 88.

of her race to provide an entertaining presentation which displays her people's capacity for self-expression.

The next day after the mascarado, Powhatan returned to Werowocomoco, and Smith, having told him of the presents that had been sent to Jamestown on his behalf, invited the chief to accompany him to the settlement to receive these gifts. The captain must have attempted to endow these presents with an added appeal as he described them to Powhatan; for he attributed their source not to the Virginia Company of London, the group which in truth had purchased them and ordered their presentation to the chief, but to the English monarch, King James. This is not directly stated in Smith's account of the meeting, but it is evident from the first phrase of Powhatan's reply: "If your King has sent me presents."[23] The gist of the Indian potentate's response is that he also is a king and as such he should not have to demean himself in beggarly fashion by going to Jamestown to receive these presents but should have them delivered to him at his village. It does not take any great depth of perception in the matter to understand that the wily old chief knows where safety lies and that he is not about to allow himself to be baited by a few trivial presents into a journey which might result in his capture and detention in the white man's settlement. After this

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[23]Smith, Works, II, 437.

response by the chief there was nothing left for Smith to do except to retrace his journey down the river to Jamestown and candidly to report just what had happened so that arrangements could be made with Captain Newport for disposal of the gifts. When the news of Powhatan's obstinancy about coming to the settlement was received, it was taken by Newport and other leaders as a tangible sign of his displeasure, and in an attempt to improve relations with the Indian chief, it was decided that, in spite of Captain Smith's opinion to the contrary, not only would the presents be delivered to Werowocomoco but the coronation ceremony that had been ordered would also be carried out there.[24]

A few days, then, after Smith had delivered the above-mentioned message to Newport, the copper crown, the bedstead, and the rest of the presents were dispatched for Werowocomoco by boat--a circuitous journey of about one hundred miles and the captain along with Newport, the other members of the council, and "fiftie good shot" set out overland for the Indian settlement which served as the seat of Powhatan's government. The trip on foot was much more quickly accomplished than that by way of the river, so that the band of settlers were at Werowocomoco to meet the boat and bring the gifts ashore. The bedstead was immediately

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[24]Smith, Works, II, 437.

set up in the Indian king's chambers, and with as much pomp and circumstance as it was possible to achieve considering the tawdriness of the gifts and the primitive quality of the setting, there followed a solemn ceremony during which Powhatan had the scarlet cloak regally draped over his soulders and the cheap copper crown placed upon his head. All this was accomplished only after he had had to be physically persuaded to get into the semblance of the kneeling position which was customary when a new king was crowned at the English court. At every stage of the ceremony the Indian potentate, even in the secure surroundings of his own village, feigned fear that his English guests were there to do him harm, but as one looks in retrospect at the pattern these proceedings took, he must believe that Powhatan's reactions were probably more the product of his obstinacy than of his timidity. And this obstinance only lapsed for a brief moment when, at the end of the ceremony, the guns of the English vessel fired their customary salute for the Indian king. This was a language that Powhatan understood--not as a courtesy but as a threat--and its report probably precipitated the only true sense of fear that Powhaton felt during the entire ceremony. With regard to any benefits that were to be reaped from such courting of the savage leader's favor, it was as Smith had predicted beforehand, for rather than improving relations between the Indians and the white settlement, the delivery

of the presents and carrying out the ritual involved in the coronation caused them to deteriorate. With these actions which he considered to be evidence of toadying weakness, Powhatan became more and more haughty in his dealings with the English, and lesser chiefs became generally less and less receptive to English efforts that were expended in the directions of either trade or diplomacy.[25]

One can only conjecture about how the Princess Pocahontas reacted to all of the events mentioned above, but with our knowledge of her general acceptance of and care for the English, we can only suppose that she would have enjoyed the visit of the English to the village of her father and that she would have been deeply concerned over the deterioration of amicable relations between her own people and her white friends at Jamestown. Since the keeping of any kind of written records was foreign to her tribe, however, whatever she may have felt about these matters can only be guessed at. On the other hand, it is apparent that she did not allow the strained quality of red-white relations to interfere with the friendly visits and missions of mercy which were a basic part of her life and which she could see were essential to the continued survival of the settlement at Jamestown. In her innate wisdom she could

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[25]Woodward, pp. 89-91.

probably perceive that so long as these visits continued there was hope of reestablishing friendly relations between the white and the Indian, and it was during these months of increasingly strained relations, which began during the latter part of 1608 and continued up to the time of Smith's departure for England in October of 1609 that Pocahontas made what were probably her most fearless and selfless gestures on behalf of the white man. One may always have second thoughts about whether the rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas on the occasion of their first meeting was not merely one part of an Indian adoption ritual which was performed with her father's blessing. Certainly Smith thought his time had come when his head was forcibly placed upon that awful rock with Powhatan's "grave courtiers" looking on, but from examining Indian customs in this matter, one can have doubts that either he or the little princess who interceded on his behalf were in much danger. In Philip Barbour's distinguished study of the confrontation between the cultures of the white man and the red that occurred in the Virginia colony near the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pocahontas and Her World, he points out that, based on his own thinking in the matter and on his consultation with Indian specialists, he has concluded with regard to Smith's rescue, that:

> The ceremony of which Smith had been the object was almost certainly a combination of mock execution and salvation, in token of adoption into Powhatan's tribe. Indian boys in their early adolescence were

> subjected to far more fearful rites when they entered into manhood. They had young braves to "protect" them. In Smith's case, Powhatan himself was possibly his foster father, but Pocahontas had been chosen to act in his stead.[26]

When Pocahontas slipped stealthily through the night to warn Smith of Powhatan's plan to murder him, however, we have to believe that she was risking her own life to protect his. Possibly the action which most readily demonstrates the irreconcilable level to which relations between the Indians and the Jamestowners had sunk, however, was taken by Powhatan late in 1608. At this time an adamant father forbade his daughter, Pocahontas--the only effective avenue of communication remaining between the red man and the white at the time--to continue her visits to Jamestown, on penalty of death.[27] While this made it impossible for her to assist the white settlers openly or to serve as an emissary between them and her father, it did not, as we shall see, deter her completely from acting in their behalf on at least two occasions during the ensuing months while Smith yet remained

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[26]Philip L. Barbour, Pocahontas and Her World (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), pp. 24-25; 258-59. For other references which deal with the custom of tribal adoption, see Regina Flannery, An Analysis of Coastal Algonquian Culture: Anthropological Series, no. 7 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University, 1939) and John R. Swanson, The Indians of the Southeastern United States, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin no. 137 (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1946).

[27]Woodward, pp. 90-91. Although Powhatan's act of forbidding Pocahontas to visit the Jamestowners cannot be documented, and may only be a product of Woodward's conjecture, it nevertheless makes for an interesting theory.

in Virginia. Following Powhatan's change in attitude after the "coronation" visit by the English, the chief became increasingly difficult to deal with as he became a harder, more obstinate trader and a slier, more wily military adversary. Smith countered the chief's changing policy by becoming more self-assertive in his dealings with the Indians, dealings limited to those cases when a dire need for supplies forced him to make brief sallies into Indian territory. On these trips the former casualness of atmosphere was gone, for the Captain and his men became much more suspicious and looked for evidence of some threat even in actions that only a few months earlier might have been accepted as evidence of good will on the part of the Indians. It was on just such a journey that Powhatan by gestures of friendship attempted to lull Captain Smith into a false sense of security in hopes of catching his adversary off guard and annihilating both him and his men. Powhatan perhaps reasoned that, in terms of the white captain's ability to counter Indian measures--that is to think and act like an Indian, Smith was the most able white man in the colony. It follows that if he could bring about the death of this man whom he considered to be the veritable backbone of the white effort at colonization in Virginia, he was convinced that one of his most pressing problems in dealing with the white settlers would be resolved.

It was on a trip that Smith made to gather supplies about the middle of January in 1609 that Powhatan made his most earnest effort to annihilate this most troubling of his white adversaries. The weather during the trip from Jamestown to Werowocomoco displayed a bitter quality which is typical of winter in the Virginia tidewater region, but by employing the knowledge that he had gained during similar expeditions, Smith was able to cope with what hazards nature offered and led his party safely to a point where they could be housed and fed in the village of Powhatan. The Indian chief received his guests with a feigned display of amiability, housed them from the cold, and provided food to sate their hunger; but before very long he returned to his eternal questions: "Why are you here (in Virginia)?" "When will you leave?" And when the matter of the sale of Indian corn was broached, the chief at first denied that any was to be had at any price. Having made this point, he then modified his answer to say that for "fortie swords he would procure [them] fortie Baskets."[28] Powhatan's strategy of attempting to play upon the hunger of the colonists must have irritated Smith, but without losing his composure, the captain continued his discourse with the savage king as he pointed out that he had no

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[28]Smith, Works, II, 450; In A Map of Virginia, II, Works, I, 133, we find "40 swords for 40 bushels."

weapons to spare and with the subtlety of a veiled threat added that such a withholding of corn could not only cause their mutual friendship to be dissolved but could also lead to dire consequences for a group of primitively armed savages who tried to deny access to food to a group of men who were armed with more sophisticated weapons. Powhatan, realizing that Smith was not to be pushed too far, relented in the matter of withholding corn from the English, but while turning the course of their conversation into a discusion of peace and war in which he strongly avowed his true desire for the former, the old chief must have been furtively considering several alternative plans of action through which he might, once and for all, rid himself of this man whom he considered to be his counterpart as the English werowance. Smith responded in kind to the Indian's stated desire for amicable relations, and then the chief attempted to spring the trap that he had so slyly baited as he suggested to the English leader, ". . . if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your armes, that I may believe you. . . ."[29] Disgusted with this bungled attempt at subterfuge which he could see was merely an attempt to gain an advantage that would make him and his men vulnerable to having their throats cut, Smith continued to play Powhatan's game for as long as it took to get the boat

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[29]Smith, Works, II, 453.

loaded with Indian corn and ready to travel and to move more of his men into a position where they could counter any Indian attack. Seeing that he was quickly losing both the strategical and logical advantage in his confrontation with the white leader, Powhatan fled from Smith's presence and ordered his men to attack the greatly outnumbered party of Englishmen. This attack was quickly repulsed by the superior military skill and weaponry possessed by Smith and the eighteen men he had managed to get on shore before the attack began, and Powhatan, attempting to placate Smith and to dissemble the matter, sent excuses about the conduct of his men and a gift of a great bracelet and a chain of pearls to the captain. These messengers also brought baskets for Smith's men to carry their newly gotten supply of corn to their boat and magnanimously offered to guard their weapons while this loading was taking place, lest they should be stolen. The upshot of this attempted ruse, however, was that, as soon as the English had cocked their weapons and spoken a few well chosen words, the Indian warriors laid down their bows and arrows and became corn bearers. So the boat was loaded and ready to sail, but the tide was out and departure had to be delayed until the next morning. This provided a few more hours for Powhatan to practice his wiles in trying to do away with Smith. It is not known where the chief's dearest daughter had been during the encounters between her father and the English that are

described above, but at this point Pocahontas enters the action on behalf of her English friends.

In a pretense of good fellowship, Powhatan's tribesmen spent the rest of the day, after their efforts to annihilate the English had been aborted, involved in "all the merry sports they could deuise,"[30] but all the while Powhatan was completing his plans for a surprise attack upon the house where Smith and his party were quartered that was timed for greatest effectiveness so that it would take place as the English sat relaxed and unarmed at their supper. Pocahontas, by some means unknown to us, learned of her father's intentions, however, and risking her own safety once again demonstrated the depth of her loyalty to the white inhabitants at Jamestown. As Smith describes it:

> Notwithstanding the eternall all-seeing God did preuent him (Powhatan), and by a strange meanes. For Pocahontas his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine (this is either Wiffin, Abbot, Phittiplace, or Todkill writing) great cheare should be sent vs by and by: but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come (and) kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue, shee wished vs presently to bee gone. Such things as shee delighted in, he [Smith] would haue giuen her: but with the teares running downe her cheekes, shee said shee durst not be seene to have any: for if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead, and so shee ranne away by her selfe as she came.[31]

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[30]Smith, Works, II, 455.

[31]Ibid.

After a night of vigilance which was the result of Pocahontas's warning, Smith--having, as he now believed, for a second time been rescued from Powhatan's wrath through the intercession of Pocahontas--departed from the lodge located just outside of Werowocomoco where the events of the preceding might had taken place and set out on their return trip down the river to Jamestown. At least so he tells the story.

During the time while Smith's party had been coping with Indian mischief at Powhatan's village, Master Matthew Scrivener had imprudently gone off with ten other colonists, including Captain Richard Waldo and Master Anthony Gosnold, on a foolhardy mission in a frail skiff. The result of this was that all ten voyagers were lost at sea and Master Richard Wiffin was dispatched to bring this "heavie newes" to Captain Smith. Expecting to intercept Smith at Werowocomoco, Wiffin proceeded to that village but arrived the next day after Smith and his party had departed. With relations between Indians and Jamestowners being as much in a state of upheaval as they were, Powhatan country was certainly no place for a solitary white man and even more assuredly it was a dangerous place for one with Wiffin's lack of experience in dealing with the Indians.[32]

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[32]Although Richard Wyffin's name appears on the list of arrivals with the "first supply" (See, A Map of Virginia, II, pp. 101 and 108; The Generall Historie, III, pp. 404 and 411) which reached Jamestown on January 8, 1608, the absence

For the second time within a span of two or three days Pocahontas, according to the record, revealed herself as possessing a degree of concern and friendship for the English that was almost inexplicable in view of the fact that her feeling for the whites seemed to surmount her loyalty to either family or racial ties. Having arrived at Werowocomoco late in the afternoon, Wiffin decided to spend the night in Powhatan's village, but during his stay,

> . . . perceiuing such preparations for warre (and) not finding the President (Smith) there: he did assure himselfe some mischiefe was intended. Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him; but by her meanes and extraordinary bribes and much trouble in three dayes [? 19-22 January, 1609] travell, at length he found vs. . . .[33]

During the months that ensued between January and October 1609 necessity drew Captain Smith into a few minor contacts with lesser chiefs of the tribes around Jamestown, but we can believe, if we choose to, that during that period of time he may never have seen either Powhatan or Pocahontas, who was apparently still barred by her father's edict from visiting the white man's settlement. Indeed, if she visited Smith at all during this period, it must have been a well-kept secret, for there is no record of it. Having

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of his name from any records dealing with Indian encounters and the fact that he was not one of the leaders of the colony would lead one to believe that his experience in dealing with the savages would have been extremely limited.

[33]Smith, Works, II, 460-61.

returned in late January with supplies that would last for a considerable time, Smith busied himself with the affairs of getting the colony's stores filled so that the settlement would be less at the mercy of the whims of Indian traders before the arrival of another winter. He worked out a schedule of building and planting which would make it possible for the colonists to become more nearly self-sustaining, and then he attempted to see to it that these plans were brought to fruition by the labor of the inhabitants of the settlement. This was a necessary project, but it was not one which was apt to make Smith an object of the favor of his fellow colonists. To one who had braved numerous Indian upheavals and always come away as the victor, however, such disapprobation on the part of his fellow colonists must have been looked upon as a matter of little or no significance if weighed against the positive results of that which he was attempting to accomplish in their behalf. Irony of ironies befell Captain Smith, however, for somewhere near the beginning of September in 1609, this worthy adventurer, who had more than once faced the threat of death at the hands of his savage adversaries and survived, fell victim to an accident that was an incapacitating one and made it necessary for him to return to England where proper medical attention could be

obtained.[34] As Richard Pots and William Phittiplace record it in one of their contributions to the second part of A Map of Virginia, it seems that while Smith was

> Sleeping in his boat . . . accidentallie one fired his powder bag; which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes 9. or 10. inches square, in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloaths, he leaped over board into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him, he was neere drownd. . . . seeing there was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery in the fort to cure his hurt (he departed the next day by ship for England; but) so grievous were his wounds and so cruell was his torment (that) few expected he could liue.[35]

In light of the romantically dramatic adventures that had been typical of Smith's life during his wanderings across Europe and during the time of his sojourn in the Virginia colony, one would have to say that the circumstances described above bring Smith's Virginia venture to a rather anticlimactic conclusion. Certainly this is not to say that Smith's departure signaled the end of his interest in Virginia, for the fact that he continued to

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[34]There are accounts which claim that Smith returned to England not because of any wound he had received but because he was "sent home to answere some misdemeanors." This charge seems to have had its origin in a letter from Captain John Ratcliffe (alias Sicklemore) to the Earl of Salisbury dated 4 October 1609. This date, by the way, coincides with that of Smith's departure from the colony, and the letter has been used as evidence by Smith's detractors from that day to the present. For the original of Ratcliffe's letter, see English State Papers, Colonial (1574-1621), Vol. I, no. 19; for a copy of the same document, see Smith, Works, I, xcviii-xcix.

[35]Smith, Works, I, 165-66.

include, in those works that were either written by him or that were published under his sponsorship since they bore his name, accounts of events that occurred in the colony during and after his direct association with it is ample proof of his continuing interest in the state of affairs in the settlement. One may also believe that, based on the frequency and the increasing impact of references to Pocahontas in his later works, Smith's interest in the activities of the Indian princess who had befriended him on more than one occasion did not wane with his departure from Virginia but may have actually increased. It is also interesting to note that soon after her action in behalf of an English lad named Henry Spilman[36] whom she saved from

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[36]Strachey, pp. 46-47. The following note concerning Spelman [Smith's spelling is thus altered here as it also is throughout Philip Barbour's Pocahontas and Her World and Grace Steele Woodward's Pocahontas] is appended to Strachey's text by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund:

> Henry Spelman, the son, or more probably the nephew, of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary. He seems to have adventured to Virginia because of some trouble in England, "beinge in displeasuer of my friendes," when he was less than twenty-one years old. Shortly after his arrival in Virginia in 1609, according to his Relation (London: Chiswick Press, 1872), Capt. Smith sold him to Powhatan's son for his settlement called Powhatan. Smith's Historie gives a different version of how he came to be among the Indians with an account of his dramatic rescue by Pocahontas. At any rate, he lived with the Indians as a favorite of Powhatan until 1610 when Captain Argall travelled up the Potomac on a trading expedition and took him back to Jamestown. Later he rose to the rank of Captain and served as interpreter for the colonists, but in 1619 he was degraded from his captaincy and sentenced to seven years service as an interpreter for the colony

Powhatan's rage against the whites and her relocation of the boy, who had been living among Powhatan's people to learn their language and customs, among the Patawomekes (Potomacs) who were, on the whole, more friendly to the English, Pocahontas drops out of sight in the recorded history of the Jamestown settlement for a period of about three years. Could it be mere happenstance, one may ask, that the departure of Smith for England and the cessation of Pocahontas's visits to the settlement coincide so closely in point of time?[37] There has been a great deal of conjecture about this. Some commentators, supporters of Smith's claims about the closeness of the relationship that existed between the Indian princess and himself, go even beyond their hero's claims in the matter and would have us believe that there was such a strong romantic bond between the English captain and the Indian maid that any visit after his departure would have been too painful for her to bear.[38] Others, less

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because he criticized Governor Yeardley to Opechancanough, Powhatan's brother. Despite his knack for getting along with the Indians, his luck ran out and he was killed in 1623 by a band of Indians near the present site of Washington, D.C. See also Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1890), I, 483-84; II, 1020-21.

[37]For Smith's record of this, see his letter to Queen Anne concerning Pocahontas in Smith, Works, p. 532.

[38]For those authors who reflect some of the more romantic views concerning the personal relationship between Pocahontas and John Smith, one may turn to such treatments of the story as those found in Bishop William Meade's Old

favorable in their portraits of John Smith, argue that Pocahontas's absence from the settlement had nothing to do with the captain's departure from Jamestown but was merely the result of her father's sterner enforcement of his edict against her visits there.[39] Whichever of these explanations one accepts, it is also significant to note that it is neither in Jamestown nor at the village of her father but in Potomac country that we next pick up the thread of the Pocahontas story. Why she had absented herself from the tribal house of her father we cannot be sure, and whether William Strachey's record of her marriage to a "private Captayne" named Kocoum,[40] if it is an accurate report, had

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Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1857); William Wirt Henry's "Address to the Virginia Historical Society, 1882" in Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society, 1882; or to the greatly embroidered accounts to be found in such fictional treatments of the story as John Esten Cooke's My Lady Pocahontus (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1885); James Otis [Kaler]'s The Romance of Pocahontas (New York: The Cosmopolitan Press, 1912); or Noel B. Gerson [Paul Lewis]'s Daughter of Eve (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958).

[39]For examples of those who tend to deny that any importance might be attached to the Smith-Pocahontas relationship, see Charles Deane's notes to Wingfield's A Discourse of Virginia (Boston: Wiggin and Lunt, 1859); Henry Adams' "The Pocahontas Myth Exploded" in The North American Review, 104:11, 1-30; or Edward D. Neill's History of the Virginia Company of London (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1869), pp. 15; 20; 32; and note p. 211. As can be seen here, Deane's publication of Wingfield's Ms., for the first time, began the furor over Smith's veracity, and he could not have chosen a more anti-Smith document to edit.

[40]Strachey, p. 62.

anything to do with her presence in that territory has been a matter of much concern to those interested in the Pocahontas story.[41] Whatever the reasons for her presence in the area were, however, one finds Captain Samuel Argall recording in a letter to Nicholas Hawes, who like Argall was a Virginia adventurer, dated June 1613 that on a trading mission up the Penbrooke River in late March and early April of that year he was told by some of his Indian friends that "the Great Chief Powhatans Daughter Pokahuntis was with the great King Patowoneck, . . ."[42] Having heard this, Argall hastened to put into action a plan by which he could take the Indian Princess back to Jamestown as a political prisoner whose presence could be used in winning concessions from her father with regard to freeing several Englishmen whom he held as his prisoners, to securing the return of English arms that had come into the chief's possession by various and sundry means, and finally to supplying the

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[41]For the pro-Smith and anti-Strachey version of this matter, see the works by Meade and Henry cited above as well as John Fiske's Old Virginia and Her Neighbors (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1897). For the other side of the question, the best discussions are to be found in those works by Deane, Adams and Neill that have previously been cited.

[42]Samuel Argall, "A Letter from Samuell Argall touching his Voyage to Virginia, and Actions there: Written to Master Nicholas Hawes, June 1613" in Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1890), I, 642; also in Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes (London: William Stansbury for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), IV, 1764-65.

colonist's seemingly never-ending need for Indian corn. Soon after Argall arrived at the town which served as the seat of the Potomac Chief of Pastancy, he met with the tribal leader and without very much finesse or diplomacy broached the matter of his desire to take Pocahontas back to Jamestown as a hostage and told him, in no uncertain terms, that if he did not cooperate by betraying the Indian maid into his hands, they would "be no longer brothers or friends."[43] The chief with whom Argall first talked of these matters argued that if he should undertake such shady business, the mighty Powhatan would retaliate fiercely by making war upon his tribe. Argall countered this, however, as he promised him that he and the rest of the English would join him in defending against any such retaliatory attack. Thus reassured, the King of Pastancy carried Captain Argall's proposition to his brother--the King of Patowomeck--who was an even more influential leader, and he in turn carried it to the "Counsell" of the tribe where it was decided that the continued friendship of the English was more to be valued than the good will of Powhatan and that they would go along with Argall's plot to kidnap the princess.[44]

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[43]See Argall's "Letter" in Brown, II, 643.

[44]Ibid.

In order to carry out his scheme, Argall enlisted the aid of his adopted Indian "brother" Iapassus and his wife. In return for a copper kettle which the captain promised as payment for their services and with the approbation which the council had given to their action, these two willingly played the Judas role as they lured the unsuspecting Pocahontas on board Argall's ship, The Treasurer, for what was ostensibly to be nothing more than a tour of the ship. It was the thirteenth of April when Pocahontas, Iapassus, and his wife boarded a waiting shallop in a cove near the mouth of Potomac Creek and with this began the last phase in the life story of Pocahontas--a period of three years during which she first became a convert to the Christian religion, next became the wife of a Virginia planter named John Rolfe, then visited England and became the darling of the English court, and finally, on the verge of returning home to Virginia, died and was buried at Gravesend in England. But to return to our story; having boarded the shallop, the party of Indians were rowed out to Argall's ship where they were conducted on the proposed tour and were afterwards entertained by Argall as his supper guests.

After dinner the gunner's room was offered to Pocahontas on the pretense of providing her a place to rest, and Iapassus and his wife went to talk to Argall after reassuring the princess that they would soon return to take

her ashore. Actually, however, this pair went to the captain in order that they might receive their recompense for the job of deception which they had performed. As had been promised, they were rewarded with presents in the form of a copper kettle and "som other les valuable toies [gewgaws] so highly by him (Iapassus) esteemed, that doubtlesse he would haue betraied his owne father for them."[45] In the letter which he wrote to Hawes, Argall leaves the impression that it is the high value which the Indians place upon the friendship of the English that is the sole motivating factor in their betrayal of Pocahontas into his hands. In the accounts presented by Smith in The Generall Historie and by Hamor in A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia . . . till . . . 1614 the motives become less worthy as the "copper kettle and other toies" come into play.

Up to the point where Iapassus and his wife left her in the gun room, Pocahontas had apparently been completely unaware of Argall's scheme, but before she had rested long, she arose in alarm and urged her Indian companions to take her ashore. Argall stepped in at this point, however, and informed the princess that her father:

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[45]Although Smith's Generall Historie as well as Argall's "Letter" gives accounts of this, by far the best is found in Ralph Hamor's A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia (London: by Iohn Beale for William Welby, 1615), pp. 4-5.

> had then eight of our English men, many swords, peeces, and other tooles, which he had at seuerall times by trecherons [sic] murdering our men, taken from them, which though of no vse to him, he would not redeliuer, [and for that reason] he would reserve [keep] Pocahuntas [aboard].[46]

Having thus stated his case, Argall permitted Iapassus and his squaw, both of whom in outward appearance were no less discontented at the detention of the princess than she would expect them to be, to go ashore, and then he sailed away toward Jamestown with his precious cargo.

When Captain Argall's plan for the capture of Pocahontas had succeeded, an Indian runner was immediately dispatched to Powhatan, even before the captain had returned his prize to Jamestown, to inform the chief that

> I (Argall) had taken his Daughter: and if he would send home the Englishmen (whom he deteined in slaverie, with such armes and tooles, as the Indians had gotten or stolne) and also a great quantitie of corne, that then he should have his daughter restored, otherwise not.[47]

This news and the terms offered by Argall undoubtedly grieved Pocahontas's father greatly, for he was (Smith tells us) torn between his love "both for his daughter and our commodities."[48] Argall tells us that the answer to the message he sent to Powhatan was returned without delay;[49]

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[46]Hamor, pp. 5-6.

[47]Argall's "Letter" in Brown, I, 643.

[48]Smith, Works, II, 512.

[49]Argall's "Letter" in Brown, I, 643.

Hamor and Smith, on the other hand, claim that it was three months before the answer to Argall's note was forthcoming.[50] In spite of this difference in records about the immediacy of Powhatan's response, however, both sources agree on the general content of this reply which stated:

> That he desired me to use his Daughter well, and bring my ship into his River, and there he would give mee my demands: which being performed, I should deliver him his Daughter, and we should be friends.[51]

Argall was not empowered to conclude such negotiations (if as he suggests Powhatan's response was immediate), and so he departed post haste for Jamestown where he would be able to consult with the colony's President and the members of the Council about the course of action that should be taken in dealing with the proposals contained in Powhatan's response, or lack of it as the case may have been, to Argall's demands. Whether or not Powhatan's reaction to Argall's message was immediate, the fact is that the captain's plan must have basically been a good one, for it bore a kind of tangible fruit in the fact that "Powhatan made some concessions as

> by the perswasion of the Councell (the elders of his tribe) he returned seuen of our men, with each of them an vnseruiceable Musket, and sent vs word, that when wee would deliuer his daughter, hee would make

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[50]Hamor, p. 6; Smith, Works, II, 512.

[51]Argall's "Letter" in Brown, I, 643.

> vs satisfaction for all iniures done vs, and giue vs five hundred bushels of Corne, and for euer be friends with vs.[52]

That which Powhatan delivered was received by the colonists as a partial ransom, but while assuring him of the fact that they would treat Pocahontas well, they expressed disbelief that, as the Indian potentate claimed, the rest of the weapons, which he had gotten from the white settlement's arsenal by various means, were either lost or stolen. In view of this the colonists reiterated Argall's resolve as they expressed their determination to detain Pocahontas until the rest of these weapons were returned.

It certainly could be argued with some merit that by the time these negotiations were taking place, Pocahontas, who had probably reacted with only a mild degree of negativism to Captain Argall's first restraint of her on his ship, was rather beginning to enjoy the new role that she was playing in bringing about a more peaceful relationship between her people and the English settlement. Indeed, life could not have been too difficult for her, for she was allowed free run of the fort and was treated more like a princess than a prisoner.[53] A bit later the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, at the request of Sir Thomas Dale, had taken Pocahontas under his wing and had begun to

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[52]Smith, Works, II, 512.

[53]Barbour, Pocahontas, pp. 109-11.

instruct her in the mysteries of a new and highly appealing religion--the Christian faith; and also zest for living must have been increased for the princess by the romantic interest expressed in her by a young English planter, John Rolfe. All in all, life for Pocahontas, during her captivity at Jamestown and later at Dale's model city of Henrico where she became acquainted first with the Reverend Mr. Whitaker and then with her future husband, must not have been too distasteful.

When Marshal Thomas Dale arrived from England in May of 1611, among the group of settlers he brought with him was the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, who may be best described as having the heart and temperament that made him particularly well suited for missionary work among the Indians. Simply because of his abiding interest in winning the savages who inhabited the Virginia wilderness to the "True Faith," Whitaker did not tarry long at the Jamestown settlement. He moved, when the opportunity first presented itself, to Dale's hinterland settlement at Henrico where he would be living in a closer proximity to those pagans whom he sought to convert. Whether it was because Dale did not want Pocahontas to remain in Jamestown or because he felt that the Reverend Mr. Whitaker was more experienced in dealing with the machinations of the Indian temperament and hence might have greater success than the less articulate Richard Buck, minister at the older settlement, the facts

are that it was under the tutelage of Whitaker that the Indian princess "found Captain Smith's God," turned her back on those pagan rituals on which she had been spiritually nurtured from birth, and became the first of the Indian inhabitants of Virginia to be baptized into the Christian faith.[54]

During the time when she was learning about Christianity from Whitaker, another sequence of events was taking place which, along with the conversion of the Indian princess, contributed much toward establishing the basis for the friendly relationships that were to bind the white and the Indian communities in a more peaceful co-existence during the next few years of Virginia history. First there was the visit which was paid to Pocahontas by two of Powhatan's sons to determine how their sister was faring in captivity. Finding her well treated by her captors, they probably returned a glowing report to their father and this must have reassured the Indian king and made him less suspicious and more flexible in his dealings with the colonists. The other thing that happened during the interval of Pocahontas's sojourn at Henrico and that did much to bring about a more enduring sort of improved relations between the white and the red man had to do with

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[54]Alexander Whitaker, "To My Verie Deere and Louing Cosen M. G[ouge], Minister of the B[lack] F[riars] in London," in Hamor, pp. 59-61.

the budding and flowering of a romantic love affair between the Indian maid and John Rolfe, a Virginia planter who contributed much toward stabilizing the economy of the colony by introducing tobacco as a cultivatable money crop that could be exported to English markets.[55]

The Rolfes, who both legend and family tradition have combined to link to the English village of Heacham in Norfolk,[56] have been rather described by Philip Barbour as "a family in which intellectual capacity has been less of a feature than character and persistence.[57] This description of a family whose members were "sturdy and able, not brainy"[58] seems to have epitomized generations of Rolfes, but of none of them could it be said to be a more exact portrait than of John Rolfe of Virginia who became, after Smith and Argall, the third Englishman who played a truly significant role in the story of Pocahontas. Possibly no better account of Rolfe's falling in love with this pagan princess (for at the time that their love for one

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[55]Alexander Brown, "John Rolfe" in The Genesis of the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1890), II, 986-87.

[56]For Philip Barbour's thorough analysis of what he refers to as the "genealogical conundrum" surrounding the linking of the John Rolfe who married Pocahontas to the Rolfes of Heacham, see Appendix II in his Pocahontas and Her World, pp. 241-45

[57]Ibid., p. 113.

[58]Ibid.

another had its beginning, Pocahontas had not yet become a Christian) is to be found than the record presented in a letter written to Sir Thomas Dale by the young planter in which he solicits Dale's advice and approbation with regard to his desire to marry Powhatan's daughter. He wrote:

> Honourable Sir, and most vvorthy Gouernor: vvhen you leasure shall best serue you to peruse these lines, I trust in God, the beginning vvill not strike you into a greater admiration, then the end vvill giue you good content. It is a matter of no small moment, concerning my own particular which here I impart vnto you, and vvhich toucheth mee so neerely, as the tendernesse of my salutation. Howbeit I freely subiect my selfe to your grave and mature iudgement, deliberation, approbation, and determination: assuring myselfe of your zealous admonitions, and godly comforts, either perswading me to desist, or incouraging me to persist therin, with a religious feare and godly care, for which (from the very instant, that this began to roote it selfe vvithin the secret bosome of my brest) my daily and earnest praiers haue bin, still are, and euer shall be produced forthwith, as sincere, a godly zeale, as I possiblely may to be directed, aided and governed in all my thoughts, vvords and deedes, to the glory of God, and for my eternal consolation. To perseur vvherein I neuer had more neede, nor (till novv) could euer imagine to haue bin moued vvith the like occasion.[59]

From reading this introductory paragraph of Rolfe's letter one gets the image of a writer who is about to reveal the nature of a real personal problem with whose social,

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[59]For the text of Rolfe's letter to Sir Thomas Dale, I have relied on a copy of the letter included in Hamor, pp. 61-68 and on a copy included as Appendix III in Philip Barbour's Pocahontas and Her World, pp. 247-52 which was derived from MS Ashmolean 830, folios 118-19, Department of Western Manuscripts, Archives Bodleian Library, Oxford University. This letter in its entirety is included in Appendix A of this study.

ethical, and religious implications he is wrestling. Having established this tone, he continued:

> But (my case standing as it doth) vvhat better vvorldly refuge can I here seeke, then to shelter my selfe vnder the safety of your fauourable protection? And did not my case proceede from an vnspotted conscience, I should not dare to offer to your vievv and approued iudgement, these passions of my troubled soule, so full of feare and trembling is hypocrisie and dissimulation. But knowing my own innocency, & godly feruour in the vvhole prosecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance, and Clement construction. As for malitious deprauers, & turbulet spirits to whom nothing is tastefull, but what pleaseth there unsauory pallat, I passe not from them being vvell assured in my persuasion (by the often triall and prouing of my selfe, in my holiest meditations and praiers) that I am called hereunto by the spirit of God; and it shall be sufficient for me to be protected by your selfe in all vertuous and pious indevours. And for my more happie proceeding herein, my daily oblations shall euer be addressed to bring to passe so good effects, that your selfe, and all the vvorld may truely say: This is the worke of God, and it is maruelous in our eies.[60]

The most impressive fact about this paragraph of Rolfe's letter, as well as the preceding one, would seem to be its puritanical quality which expresses a deep concern with religion, religious matters, and service to God.[61] As one further examines Rolfe's letter, however, he finds that this highly religious tone is sustained throughout. After the opening paragraphs, which are cited above and which aim at

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[60]Hamor, p. 62; Barbour, pp. 247-48.

[61]For a thorough discussion of the impact of religion in the early days of the Virginia colony, see: Perry Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia: Religion and Society in Early Literature," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, 4 (October, 1948), 492-522.

making Governor Dale generally aware of the fact that his younger friend, John Rolfe, is experiencing some trial of conscience, the young planter immediately turns his letter to the crux of his dilemma: his desire to wed Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas. Good Christian that he is, the fact that he, a white man, is smitten with this Indian girl has greatly troubled Rolfe, and he writes at length to assure the Governor that he would not for a moment be able to consider such a union as he proposes if he were not convinced that he is "called hereunto by the spirit of God." He protests that, no matter how deeply he fancies himself enamored with this maid, he is not "led (so farre forth as mans vveaknesse may permit) with the vnbridled desire of carnall affection: but for the good of the plantation, for the honor of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne saluation, and for converting to the true knowledge of God and Iesus Christ, an unbelieeuing creature namely Pokahuntas."[62] Rolfe admits that his heart and thoughts have long been "intangled, and inthralled in so intricate a laborinth," that he, "was euen awearied to vnwinde [him] selfe thereout;" but mere love, he argues, is not the only basis of his desire to marry this savage girl.

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[62]This is a task in which, as has already been mentioned, Rolfe was merely abetting the efforts of the Reverend Mr. Whitaker.

Rolfe informs Governor Dale that, in wrestling with his problem, he has never forgotten to set before his "eies the frailty of mankinde, his prones to euill, his indulgencie of vvicked thoughts," and so forth. He also, he says, has reminded himself of "the heauie displeasure which almightie God conceiued against the sonnes of Leuis and Israel for marrying strange vviues," and concerning his love for this pagan girl, he has told himself that "surely these are vvicked instigations hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in mans destruction." By turning to prayer, Rolfe seems to escape, for a time, these "diabolical assaults,"[63] but they soon return. This time, however, the idea of converting Pocahontas occurs to Rolfe, and this offers an obvious solution to his dilemma. Such an answer, the troubled young man reasons, must truly stem from divine prompting. Only as he views his proposed union with Pocahontas in this light, does Rolfe find peace of mind as he answers the query: "Why am I here?" with:

> . . . ? If not for transitory pleasures and wordly vanities, but to labour in the Lords vineyard, there to sow and plant, to nourish and increase the fruites thereof, daily adding with the good husband in the Gospell, somewhat to the tallent, that in the end the fruites may be reaped, to the comfort of the laborer in this life, and his saluation in the world to come? And if this be, as vndoubtedly this is, the seruice Iesus Christ requireth of his best seruant: wo vnto him that hath these instruments of

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[63]All short quotes in this discussion of Rolfe's letter are taken from Hamor, pp. 62-66.

> pietie put into his hands and wilfully despiseth to worke with them. Likewise, adding hereunto her great apparance of loue to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capablenesse of vnderstanding, her aptnesse of willingnesse to receive anie good impression, and also the spirituall, besides her owne incitements stirring me up hereunto.[64]

Hamor's transcript of Rolfe's letter continues in this same vein for about three more pages as it continues to describe the degree of the inner struggles that the writer's love for Pocahontas has caused him and to reiterate that it is not his "hungrie appetite" alone but also his concern for the conversion of the "unregenerate soule" of this pagan Indian girl, for "our Countreys good," and for "the benefit of this Plantation" which has caused him to choose the course of action upon which he is about to embark. He concludes his epistle with the promise that should

> it please God . . . to [so] dispose of me [that is to say, to allow me to take Pocahontas as wife] . . . I will heartely accept it as a godly taxe appointed me and will neuer cease, (God assisting me) vntill I haue accomplished, & brought to perfection so holy a vvorke, in which I vvill daily pray God to bleasse me, to mine, and her eternall happines.[65]

Apparently Rolfe need have had no fears about Governor Dale's withholding his approval of his proposed union with Powhatan's daughter, for in this direction lay political expediency. In such a marriage lay the best possible basis for a truly peaceful co-existence between

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[64]Hamor, pp. 65-66; Barbour, pp. 248-50.

[65]Hamor, p. 68; Barbour, p. 251.

Indian and White. Thus it was that Rolfe's request to marry Pocahontas was happily received by the leaders of the white settlement. Powhatan was also politic enough in his thinking to see the advantages of such a liaison between one of his daughters and one of the colonists, and as soon as he received word of Rolfe's proposal to marry Pocahontas his response was one of approbation.[66] By the time the wedding took place in the little church at Jamestown in April of 1613, one of the bridegroom's stated objectives, the conversion of Pocahontas to the Christian faith, had already been accomplished as she had earlier been baptized by the Reverend Mr. Whitaker and given the Christian name of Rebecca. So it was with a clear conscience that John Rolfe could take unto himself his Indian bride, an action that proved to be as politically useful for the colony as it was emotionally satisfying for him.

Although Powhatan thoroughly approved of the union of Rolfe and Pocahontas, he still was not willing to place himself in a position where his continued freedom and well-being would be completely dependent upon the actions of the white settlers. Probably for this reason, he absented himself from the wedding ceremony, which would have required him to go to Jamestown, but sent a delegation to represent him which consisted of

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[66]Hamor, p. 11; Smith, Works, p. 514.

> Opachisco, an old vncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage (on page 11 of A True Discourse, Hamor adds the word "pretended" before the word "marriage".) and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first (also on page 11 of A True Discourse, Hamor differs as he says "the fifth" instead of "the first".) of Aprill.[67]

Although there is no more detail than this concerning the wedding of Pocahontas and Rolfe in contemporary accounts, this is one of the incidents that ensuing generations of writers have greatly embroidered with their lively romantic imaginations.

In the years that followed this union of the white man and the Indian maid at the little church in Jamestown, the Jamestowners enjoyed a hitherto unprecedented degree of peaceful relations with their red neighbors--primarily, one must believe, as the result of the Pocahontas-Rolfe marriage. But, while the wedding seemed to have a palliative effect on the state of relations between the two peoples, what was the state of the Rolfe household? How well did Rolfe adjust to living with his bride who until a brief year before their marriage had made her home in a culture that was pagan rather than Christian and which was more savage than civilized in its values, and what impact did the comparatively structured lifestyle of an English household and the duties of a plantation mistress have on

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[67]Smith, Works, II, 514.

Pocahontas? In Smith's account the period of years between the marriage and the time when the Rolfes accompanied Sir Thomas Dale to England is pictured as a time when

> the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master Iohn Rolfe her husband and his friends, [w]as taught to speake such English as might well bee vnderstood, well instructed her in Christianitie, and was become very formall and ciuill after our English manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loued most dearely.[68]

Also one may read in a letter written about six weeks after the marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas by Sir Thomas Dale the following estimate of the new bride's attitude toward her newly assumed situation: "she liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse as the knowledge of God increaseth in her."[69] At this juncture in his letter Dale also makes the first mention of his future intentions for the Rolfe family: "She will goe into England with me . . . ."[70] When the Rolfes arrive in England, it is some two years after Dale's first mention of this proposed journey. And Smith, as is his custom, writes a most informative account of this arrival which occurred in June, 1616--an account by the way which did not find its way into print until its publication in the

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[68]Smith, Works, II, 529.

[69]Sir Thomas Dale, "To the R[everend] and my most esteemed friend, Mr. D[octor] M[ocket] at his house at F[en]-Ch[urch] in London," in Hamor, p. 56.

[70]Ibid.

Generall Historie of Virginia in 1624. With regard to the arrival of Pocahontas and her husband, Smith tells us that "the Treasurer and Company (The London Virginia Company) tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it (her child, Thomas Rolfe)."[71] One can be sure that, because of her status as an Indian Princess, the arrival of Pocahontas caused a stir in England that made her the most important passenger in Dale's entourage, a fact that John Chamberlain--an indefatigable letter writer--points out in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton dated June 22, 1616, as he writes:

> Sir Thomas Dale is arrived from Virginia and brought with him some ten or twelve old and younge of that Countrie, among whom the most remarkable person is Pocahuntas (daughter to Powatan a Kinge . . .) married to one Rolfe an Englishman: . . .[72]

In the awareness that was manifested with regard to this representative of Indian royalty by Englishmen of both high and low station, The London Virginia Company saw a chance to exploit her presence and thereby to revive a popular interest in its sagging colonial ventures. And John Smith--according to whether one accepts the interpretation of his actions given by his champions or that presented by his detractors--either seized this chance to repay a part of

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[71]Smith, Works, II, 529.

[72]John Chamberlain, The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, 12.

the debt which he owed to this Indian maiden who so often had been the means of preserving his life or perceived, in less noble fashion, that here was an opportunity to capitalize upon his former acquaintance with Powhatan's daughter and to thrust himself into the public eye. From our previous knowledge of the character of John Smith, one might readily believe that a bit of both motives can be seen in his actions. But, however that may be, on the heels of the publication of his newest book, A Description of New England, one finds Smith claiming to have written "a little Booke"--in truth, it is a letter that he speaks of here--on Pocahontas's behalf to Queen Anne in June of 1616. It was some eight years later--several years after the death of Pocahontas and in the dotage of the Queen--that Smith published an abstract of this alleged epistle in his Generall Historie of Virginia. Things being as they were with both the subject and the recipient of this discourse, this was a time when the letter's appearance would have been of little advantage to its author, but at least it shows what Smith thought of his Indian friend whether, as he claims, it was composed in 1616; or, as his detractors claim, it was produced at a later date specifically for its appearance in the Generall Historie. As such it provides a most essential step in any attempt to trace the development of the Pocahontas story and must be considered vital

enough to be analyzed thoroughly at this juncture of our study.[73]

The epistle on behalf of the Indian princess opens with a paragraph in which Smith speaks briefly of his own service to the state in the face of "the worst extreme dangers," and also identifies the debt of gratitude which "constraines" him to pen the present discourse. He adds that he "must be guiltie" of the most criminal act of negligence, should he "omit any means to be thankfull" to Pocahontas, his benefactress.

With this justification for the writing of his letter behind him, Smith turns directly to a relation of the circumstances under which Pocahontas first interceded on his behalf. He was, he informs the Queen, held captive at Powhatan's court and was about to be executed. But to pick up the thread of Smith's dramatic description, he depicts this climactic scene in the following manner:

> . . . After some six weeks[74] fatting among those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution,

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[73]The full text of Smith's abstract of this letter, as it appears in The Generall Historie, is included in Appendix B of this survey.

[74]This statement concerning the time that Smith spent among the savages as their captive has been a major point of attack for those who would question the captain's veracity. And even his defenders agree that it was more like four weeks than six that he was gone from the settlement. If the date of his departure (December 19, 1607) and that of his return (January 8, 1608) are placed according to the old style calendar which was still in general use at that time, however, the first date falls on a Saturday and the latter on a Sunday with four complete weeks

> she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Iames towne.[75]

If--as Smith claims--this letter was written in 1616, it represents the first mention in a written account of this most famous incident in the Smith-Pocahontas relationship. If, on the other hand, it was--as some scholars claim--composed later as a part of the manuscript of the Generall Historie, it follows a passing mention of the rescue scene which is to be found in the 1622 edition of Smith's New England Trials. Whichever of these represents the true situation of its composition, however, the extract cited above represents one segment of the most embroidered presentation of the rescue episode that is to be found in the writings of John Smith.

Having related the circumstances of his first, and most memorable, debt to Pocahontas, Smith continues to enumerate the many other services that the Indian princess performed on behalf of the colonists as he tells the Queen:

> Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608-1609] she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion;

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in between. Hence parts, at least of six weeks were included in the scope of his journey.

[75]Smith, Works, II, 531. For spacing, punctuation, and spelling I have relied on the Bradley Edition.

> which if in those times, [it] had once beene dissolued, Virginia might haue line [lain] as it was at our first arriual to this day.[76]

At this juncture in his epistle--without having made any mention at all of Pocahontas's famous night journey by which she warned the colonists of an imminent Indian attack--Smith turns his attention to his departure from Jamestown and, without actually saying so, implies that the ensuing wars between the colonists and the forces of Powhatan and Pocahontas's protracted absence were both due to Captain Smith not being in the settlement. He returns to the story of his heroine as she is captured by Captain Argall and as a political prisoner becomes an instrument of peace between the English and her nation. Smith further informs Queen Anne that while Powhatan's daughter was held prisoner, "at last reiecting her barbarous condition, [she] maried to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England."[77] He then sums up his description of the most important facets in the character of Pocahontas: "the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first Virginian euer spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman: a matter surely, . . . worthy a Princes vnderstanding."[78]

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[76]Smith, Works, 531-32.

[77]Ibid., p. 532.

[78]Ibid.

With these positive points in mind, Smith concludes his letter as he solicits the Queen's attention for Pocahontas:

> if she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her present loue to vs and Christianitie might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst of euill: where[as] finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants an subiects, would so rauish her with content, as endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subiects most earnestly desire.
>
> And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.[79]

In this, then, we find one of the most remarkable letters of introduction of all times, and it surely served as partial payment to Pocahontas for all the many favors she had done in Smith's behalf when he was in Virginia. When John Rolfe had landed, he had taken his little family to live for a time at Savage's Bell Inn, popularly called the Belle Savage (or Sauvage) near St. Paul's. This tavern was a favorite haunt of actors and playwrights. Among the latter was the burly Ben Jonson who saw Pocahontas at this inn, questioned her rapidly for five minutes and then for the next three-quarters of an hour sat staring at her curiously until Pocahontas finally withdrew silently to her quarters upstairs, leaving Jonson to his bottle of sherry.[80] Jonson

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[79]Smith, Works, II, 532-33.

[80]Woodward, p. 179. Here again the author's source is suspect, but the episode makes for a pretty story.

commemorated this meeting in his works by two brief allusions to the Indian girl in his play The Staple of Newes[81] which appeared some years later in 1625 and in which the dramatist reflects his amusement at the idea of a princess living in a tavern or possibly at the idea of an Indian girl being a princess at all. Indeed this was no place for the Rolfe family to reside, but it was the best that the stipend which the London Virginia Company had granted her would provide. It remained for Pocahontas's declining health to become noticeable before any better

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[81]Ben Jonson, The Staple of Newes, II, v, lines 117-126 reads:

> Pen. C.: "Let your meat rather follow you to a tauerne." /
> Picklock: "A tauern's as vnfit too, for a Princesse." /
> Pen. C.: "No, I haue knowne a Princesse, and a great one, / Come forth of a tauerne."
> Picklock: "Not goe in, Sir, though. /
> Pen. C.: "She must goe in, if she came forth: the blessed / Pokahontas (as the Historian calls her) / And great Kings daughter of Virginia, / Hath bin in womb of a tauerne; and besides, / Your Vncle will spoyle all your mirth, / And be as noysome.

Not content with this brief mention of Pocahontas, Jonson returns to his subject in the Intermeane following the second Act as he has Tattle say in lines 41-45 of this chorus:

> . . . if I saw cause, for th'other / Princesse sake Pokahontas, surnam'd the blessed, whom hee / has abus'd indeed (and I doe censure him, and will censure / him) to say she came foorth of a Tauerne, was said like a paltry / Poet.

The passages which are cited here are taken from the text found in Ben Jonson, Works, eds. C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), VI, 322-24.

quarters were found for her. Part of this decline in health may have been attributable to living in such circumstances but probably of equal consequence in this matter was the exhausting schedule of appearances that both the sponsers of the Virginia colony and the English public in general demanded of the Indian princess.

To prepare for her presentation at court, for example, Pocahontas was made a charge of Lady de la Warr, wife of the Lord Governor of Virginia. With this Lord and Lady as her sponsors, Pocahontas--as a representative of Virginia royalty--made her bow to Queen Anne probably at Somerset House, the Queen's palace in the Strand.[82] The Danish-born queen, whose bright yellow hair was a vivid contrast to Pocahontas's straight black locks, suffered from the gout and waddled as she walked. A contemporary chronicler, Samuel Purchas, tells us, however, that the Queen was so enchanted by her Indian counterpart that she forgot her infirmities when Pocahontas was present. The source of such charm, Purchas conjectures, lay in the fact that the Indian princess "did not onely accustome her selfe to civilitie, but still carried her selfe as the daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected."[83] This Virginia

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[82]Smith, Works, II, 534.

[83]Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contanyning a History of the World in Sea Voyages. . . (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), XIX, 118.

princess, with her graceful simplicity and innate dignity, seemed then to personify the new unspoiled land beyond the seas, and all doors opened to her as she was honored not only at court but also by many other persons of rank and fashion. For a case to serve as an example of her general appeal, one may turn again to Purchas who tells us that the Bishop of London, John King, "entertained her (Pocahontas) with festivall state and pompe, beyond what I haue seene in his great hospitalitie afforded to other Ladies."[84]

As has been suggested above, the social whirl into which Pocahontas was drawn may have, when abetted by the unhealthy English climate and by the unsatisfactory living conditions at "La Belle Savage" contributed to the decline in health which she experienced during the early months of her sojourn in England. In his attempt to cope with his wife's failing health, John Rolfe removed his family to Brentford which was about ten miles down the Thames and out of the smoke and tumult of London. It was here that John Smith saw the Indian princess for the first time in more than seven years, and he relates an account of their meeting thus in the Generall Historie:

> Being about this time preparing to set saile for New-England, I could not stay to doe her that seruice I desired, and she well deserued; but

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[84]Hakluytus Posthumus, XIX, 118-19.

> hearing shee was in Branford with diuers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuerse others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to haue writ she could speake English. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, "You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you:" which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, "Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did tell vs alwaies you were dead (much has been made of this statement by those romantic writers who attempted to find a love interest existing between Smith and Pocahontas and who dwelt on the grief-stricken state of the princess when she was told that her Captain was dead), and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth [on 12 June 1616]; yet Powhatan did command Vttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth because your Countriemen will lie much.[85]

This seems to be the end of Smith's first meeting in England with Pocahontas--at least it is the end of his record of it as contained in the Generall Historie--but he continues to expound on the princess's last statement as he gives his reader details concerning Uttamatomakkin's function in the entourage that Dale brought to England:

> This Saluage, one of Powhatans Councell, being amongst them held an vnderstanding fellow; the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriuing at Plimoth, according to his

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[85]Smith, Works, II, 533.

> directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske.
>
> Comming to London, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee told me "Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of."
>
> Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had seene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replyed very sadly "You gaue Powhatan a white Dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe; but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog."[86]

In the brief time that remained before Smith departed from London to go to Plymouth where he would make the final preparations for his voyage to New England, he tells us that he took "diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances"[87] to see Pocahontas and that all who were taken to see her were impressed by the quality of the Lady Rebecca whom they appraised as superior to "many English Ladies worse fauoured, proportioned, and behauioured."[88] It was also the consensus of opinion among these visitors that God must have had a great hand in her conversion. All of this must have delighted Smith, for it only confirmed his own first judgment that here, indeed, "for wit and spirit

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[86]Smith, Works, II, 534.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

[was] the only Nonpariel"[89] of his country as well as her own.

Pocahontas's proposed stay in England was almost over. Indeed the Rolfes were but waiting for the wind to change so as to take them on their return voyage to Virginia. This departure was anticipated by John Chamberlain in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton which was dated January 18, 1617. First Chamberlain writes of Pocahontas's attendance at a performance of Ben Jonson's Christmas masque which was given on Twelfth Night in "the Virginian woman['s]" honor and then, as an apparent afterthought, adds, "she is vpon her return (though sore against her will) yf the wind will come about to send her away."[90] One can readily understand Pocahontas's reluctance to leave England, for although it was an exhausting schedule that she was keeping, as the center of attention and with frequent visits from her old friend Captain Smith, she must have been having a wonderful time. With the arrival of spring, however, it was time for the living threads of this pageantlike tapestry to go their separate ways. The King and his court set out on their progress toward summering in Scotland, Smith was in Plymouth

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[89]Smith, Works, I, 38.

[90]This letter is found in Vol. XC, MS 454, State Papers Domestic James I, Public Record Office London and is cited in Barbour, p. 176; Woodward, p. 182; Hereford and Simpson, p. 569.

awaiting favorable weather for his departure on yet another expedition to the New World. And Pocahontas and John Rolfe, along with their child Thomas and the retinue of Indians which served as an escort for the princess, boarded the George, a ship that was scheduled to sail for Virginia from Gravesend at the mouth of the Thames. Ironically, the man in command of this ship that was to carry Pocahontas on this last abbreviated journey that the Indian princess was ever to make, was the same Captain Samuel Argall whose capture of her some four years earlier had set in motion the sequence of events that had led relentlessly to this very moment in her life.

The George had sailed only twenty-two miles down the Thames when the ship put into port. Pocahontas was fatally ill--perhaps, as some have conjectured, of consumption or of influenza complicated by pneumonia brought about by the ravages of English weather or, as others have claimed, perhaps as the victim of smallpox. Whatever its cause, there "she came at Gravesend to her end and grave," punned Purchas.[91] She was, then, only twenty-one or twenty-two years old when "it pleased God . . . to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders to heare and

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[91]Hakluytus Posthumus, XIX, 118.

see her make so religious and godly an end."[92] The little stranger was accorded the last sad rites of English hospitality toward her, burial in one of the two most important vaults under the apse of the little Church as befitted a person of her rank.[93]

Thus we come to the end of the basic material that has been used by countless historians, scholars, and creative writers in the years that have elapsed between those burial rites held on a Saturday in March in 1617 and the present. All four of the men who played a major role in shaping Pocahontas's life survived her--Powhatan, her father, by a little more than a year, her husband John Rolfe by about five years, and both Samuel Argall and John Smith by some ten to fifteen years.[94] It was during this period between 1617 and 1631 that Smith was to make public the most famous of all the episodes which had to do with his relationship with the Indian princess and in so doing to establish for all time to come the fame of both parties. In the second and enlarged edition of New England Trials which appeared in 1622, one finds Smith's first published reference to the rescue scene[95] and in his most important

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[92]Smith, Works, II, 535.

[93]Woodward, p. 185.

[94]Barbour, Pocahontas, pp. 213-26.

[95]In New England Trials, 2nd ed. Smith tells us:

work, The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, which saw its way through the presses in 1624, he presents his most embroidered account of the episode. All these things--the life that she lived between 1607 and 1617, the various written accounts of the role that she played in perpetuating the first permanent English plantation in America, and the role she finally was cast in as the wife of John Rolfe, as the first Indian to be converted to Christianity, and as an important emissary to the old world from the new--blend in the final analysis to form the basis for America's oldest and most beloved historical legend. That it is indeed thus beloved is evident when one considers the continuing stream of literary treatments that has graced nineteenth and twentieth century American literature. One may ask "why" with regard to such continuing popularity. And in answer to his query he must but view this young aboriginal maid whose early years have thoroughly grounded her in an Indian culture but who readily turns to the cause of the white man when she rescues Smith. In loving Smith she loved us all. She becomes the symbol of

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> For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I haue caused Powhatam send his owne men to Iames Towne to receiue their punsihment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made Pocahontas the Kings daughter the means to deliuer me: . . .

See Smith, Works, I, 263.

the white man's acceptance in the new world. She becomes the physical ancestress of the proud, prolific, and productive Virginia family of Randolph, but in saving Smith and Jamestown she becomes symbolically the "Mother of Us All." Perhaps in loving her and in perpetuating her role in our national beginnings so that every schoolboy is aware of the part which she played, Americans may be attempting to repay her in part for her acts of kindness on behalf of their forefathers and of generations yet unborn whose lives will be different because of what she did in Smith's behalf on that cold winter's day almost three hundred and seventy years ago.

CHAPTER III

THE POCAHONTAS STORY IN THE HANDS OF NON-FICTION PROSE WRITERS

I. Colonial Writers in the Shadow of John Smith

After Captain John Smith had completed the last of his several presentations of the Pocahontas episodes with the more or less imaginative accounts that are to be found in his Generall Historie of Virginia (1624) Samuel Purchas--relying to a very great extent upon Smith's final presentation of the material as a source for his information--retold the story in a collection of historical writings that were first published the next year after Smith's work under the title Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas, His Pilgrims.[1] Following this almost immediate recapitulation of Smith's most embroidered presentation of the Pocahontas materials, the story of Powhatan's favorite daughter was to lie in a state of semi-dormancy during the remaining seventy-five years of the seventeenth century and the first few years of the ensuing one. This

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[1]For the location of the Pocahontas episodes in Purchas's work, see the index of Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas, His Pilgrims, XVIII-XIX (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907).

is not to say that no copies of the works of Smith or Purchas which are mentioned above were in the hands of English and American readers during this period. With regard to Purchas, at least, the very converse of this is true, for no work in the vein of the travel book proved to be more popular during these years than his Pilgrims, with its romantic stories of sea-adventure, exploration, and the establishment of English colonies throughout the world. And one can easily believe that Smith also must have had his audience both among the Virginians who looked to his works for accounts of their colonial origins and among the English who by their nationality were representatives of a people for whom empire building and colonization were to remain prime concerns even up to the early decades of our own century. As further evidence of this, we have the reprint of the Generall Historie which appeared in 1632--a fact that would indicate that the work enjoyed a degree of popularity which would make such a publishing venture profitable. With these facts in mind, however, it must be pointed out that--no matter how appealing the romantic tale of the Indian princess and her various encounters with the English and the English cultural heritage may have been to the general reading public--for more than three-quarters of a century this material was not utilized in any new treatment. Few English or colonial writers, during this span of years elected to employ their pen with a retelling

of the Pocahontas story either in a fashion that would be a mere reflection of the material that Smith had employed[2] or in the more highly romanticized mode of relating the events of Pocahontas's life that was later to come so much into vogue in creative treatments.[3]

When the aforementioned interim of almost complete authorial silence--which had lasted for a bit more than three-quarters of a century--was broken, appropriately enough it fell to the lot of a native Virginian to accomplish the task. This writer was Robert Beverley, whom a fellow historian, John Burk, writing one hundred years later, rather negatively described as "a mere annalist of petty incidents, put together without method, and unenlivened by any of the graces of stile."[4] Beverley, in spite of assaults such as this which have frequently been made against his style and his method as a historian,[5] is

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[2]See: Samuel Clarke, A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America (London: Clavel, Sawbridge, and Birch, 1670), p. 15.

[3]See: Jay B. Hubbell, Southern Life in Fiction (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1960), p. 35.

[4]John Burk, The History of Virginia, from Its First Settlement To The Present Day, I (Petersburg, Va.: Dickinson and Pescud, 1804), p. ii.

[5]In addition to Burk's comments see those, both positive and negative, that appear in Thomas Jefferson's Writings, ed. Albert E. Bergh (Washington, D.C.: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1907), II, 244; Charles Campbell, "Introduction" to his edition of Beverley's History (Richmond: n.p., 1855), pp. xiv-xix; Jay B. Hubbell, The South in American Literature (Durham, N.C.:

nevertheless generally considered to be a significant figure as the first native historian of Virginia. His History of Virginia, in Four Parts was first published in 1705 and was, in the words of the editor of its most recent edition, "the earliest work which attempts a comprehensive description of the colony's past history, its natural environment, the aboriginal inhabitants, and contemporary political and social conditions."[6] In our study of the various treatments of the Pocahontas theme, it is Beverley's presentation of the first of these phases of Virginia history--an area where he relies heavily upon Smith as his source of information--that is primarily of interest to us.

Rather than interspersing the events concerning the Indian princess in the chronological order of their occurrence in the more general accounts of early Virginia, Beverley lumps them all together in a single eight-page portion of his History and even here the events are not told in the order in which they occurred. Beginning with Pocahontas's capture by Captain Argall, Beverley then relates in their proper order the marriage of the Indian maid to John Rolfe and the journey of the Rolfe family to

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Duke University Press, 1954), pp. 26-30; and David D. Van Tassel, Recording America's Past (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 24-25.

[6]Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), p. xiii.

England in the company of Sir Thomas Dale. All this is presented without any reference to Whitaker's conversion of Pocahontas to the Christian faith. But Beverley does pause in the progress of his account to give his approbation to intermarriage between Englishmen and Indian women as a means of obtaining peace and of converting the Indians to Christianity, and here the author does make a slight reference to the Indian princess's conversion as he speaks of "Mr. Rolfe and his Wife Pocahontas, who upon Marriage, was Christen'd and called Rebecka."[7] After having noted these elements of the Pocahontas story, Beverley breaks the chronological sequence as he moves back in time to relate the most famous of the Pocahontas episodes--her role as the preserver of John Smith's life in late December of 1607 or early January of 1608--just before he writes of her arrival at Plymouth on June 12, 1616. Whether the reservation of this episode for telling at this juncture is done for dramatic effect or whether it is presented here as an appropriate introduction to Smith's letter to the Queen on behalf of Pocahontas, which was written to coincide with the arrival of the Indian princess in England, the fact is that Beverley presents the rescue scene at this juncture:

> Captain John Smith was at that time in England, and hearing of the Arrival of Pocahontas at Pourtsmouth, used all the Means he could to express his Gratitude to her, as having formerly preserv'd his Life by the Hazard of her own: For, when by the Command of her

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[7]Beverley, p. 39.

> Father, Captain Smith's Head was upon the Block to have his Brains knock'd out, she saved his head by laying her's close upon it. He was at that time suddenly to imbark for New-England, and fearing he sould sail before she got to London, he made an humble Petition to the Queen in her Behalf, which I here choose to give you in his own Words, because it will save me the Story at large.[8]

Then Beverley presents verbatim, under the title of "Captain Smith's PETITION to Her Majesty, in Behalf of Pocahontas, Daughter to the Indian Emperor Powhatan," Smith's letter to Queen Anne which, as was pointed out earlier, does serve as an excellent summary of all the services that Pocahontas performed for the Virginia colonists.

Beverley follows Smith's letter with two original comments, which to date no historian has been completely able to prove or to refute, that tell his reader that Smith's letter was presented to the Queen and, "was graciously received" and that "Pocahontas had many Honours done her by the queen upon account of Captain Smith's Story."[9] In both of these statements Beverley reveals his belief in the veracity of his source, an important concession since one of the major points of attack upon Smith by his detractors has been the fact that the letter mentioned above was never publicized by Smith or anyone else until several years after its composition when both the Queen and Pocahontas were in no condition to deny its

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[8]Beverley, p. 39.

[9]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

authenticity. Beverley also seems to enlarge a bit even upon the captain's account when he tells of the gracious reception given Pocahontas by the English nobility and of the many "Plays, Balls, and other publick Entertainments," that she was "carried to" by members of the English Court, including even Queene Anne herself.[10]

With regard to Uttamaccomack's assigned task of counting the people in England; Beverley also goes a bit beyond Smith as he tells us of this Indian's audience with Powhatan after his return to Virginia:

> Being asked by his King; How many People there were; He desired him to count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves upon the Trees, and the Sand on the Seashore, for so many People (he said) were in England.[11]

Although most of what Beverley presents here has its origin in being suggested, at least, by the accounts concerning Pocahontas that are to be found in Smith's Generall Historie, this author does refer in one instance to an item that neither Smith nor any previous American writer on the subject seems to have mentioned. This has to do with a tradition concerning King James' displeasure because of Rolfe's marrying a person of noble station without first obtaining his royal sanction of the union. As Beverley presents it,

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[10]Beverley, p. 43.

[11]Ibid.

> the poor Gentleman her Husband had like to have been call'd to an Account for presuming to marry a Princess Royal without the King's Consent; because it had been suggested that he had taken Advantage of her being a Prisoner, and forc'd her to marry him.[12]

This segment of the story might be the product of Beverley's having put his creative tendencies to work, for there is little contemporary evidence for this attitude on the part of the British monarch. In the first version of the history, Beverley quickly smooths over the matter as being produced merely by a misunderstanding when he says, "But upon a more perfect Representation of the Matter, his Majesty was pleased at last to declare himself satisfied."[13] And in the 1722 version of his History the historian, who by then has altered his earlier absolute devotion to the concept of the noble savage, adds to this resolution of the problem the sardonic sentence, "But had their (the Indian's) true condition here been known, that pother had been saved."[14]

In making an examination of Beverley's presentation of the Pocahontas material, one finds certain significant features which generally form a basic pattern for the treatments of the subject that are to follow it during the

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[12]Beverley, p. 44.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Beverley, History, (Edition of 1722), p. 31 as cited in Wright's "Introduction," p. xvii.

ensuing one-hundred-and-fifty-odd years. First, one must always remember that Smith is apparently the sole source of Beverley's account in the Pocahontas matters and that the basic veracity of the captain's story is accepted throughout. In the second place, one must be constantly aware of the fact that events in the story, even though they appear to have been taken from Smith, are sometimes rearranged into a sequence which fits what the historian believes to be the most pleasing presentation of his material. Thus proper chronological arrangement is sometimes altered. And finally, presuming that there is embroidery in the presentation of the king's displeasure with Rolfe's marriage to Pocahontas, one should expect that some details will be added to, or subtracted from, Smith's presentation of the story in an attempt to gain the degree of reader appeal that accompanies the romantic presentation of a story.

The next treatment of the Pocahontas materials worth examining is to be found in John Oldmixon's The British Empire in America: Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America which was published in London in 1708. Although this work appeared some three years after Beverley's History, it had, at the very least, been outlined well before Beverley's work, and indeed Oldmixon's effort has been pointed to by Louis B. Wright as the impetus which brought Beverley to the task of composing

his History. During a sojourn in England in 1703, Beverley was presented by the bookseller Parker with a manuscript relating to Virginia and was asked to correct any inaccuracies that he found in that document which was to form a section of the Oldmixon work. When he attempted to accomplish this editorial task, Beverley found that it was, "too faulty and imperfect to be mended," and that it was a patchwork, "only of some accounts that had been printed 60 or 70 years ago in which also he had chosen the most strange and untrue parts and left out the more sincere and faithful."[15] Instead of trying to mend this hodgepodge, Beverley proposed to use some notes that he had made on Virginia history as the basis for a treatment of the subject. Thus was born the first section of the Beverley work, which preceded Oldmixon's History in point of publication although it succeeded it in its date of composition. Whether or not Beverley knew that Oldmixon's account, which he damned so completely, was based on a manuscript supplied by his brother-in-law, William Byrd of Westover, we are given no indication. But perhaps he did know and took a sardonic pleasure in pointing out its superficiality for just that reason. There was nothing that Beverley admired in what he considered to be his brother-in-law's social-climbing ways, and it could probably

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[15]Beverley, History, "Preface" cited in Wright's "Introduction," p. xvii.

have given him a great deal of pleasure to hold up to ridicule Byrd's efforts as a Virginia historian.[16]

Rather than giving full credence to Smith's accounts, as Beverley was to do, the Oldmixon retelling--presumably as the English historian had derived it from Byrd's version of the rescue and its accompanying circumstances--contains several features that make it interestingly different from its most immediate predecessor in point of publication. Smith, in more than one instance, is taken to task by this author because he "never [drops] his main Design to make himself the Hero of his History" in his relation of "Incidents equally agreeable and surprizing, but pretty romantic and suspicious."[17] Oldmixon's is, moreover, a more detailed account than Beverley's version, and it further reveals its independence of Smith as it states in one place that Powhatan would have beheaded the Captain and disregards completely Smith's testimony that he was about to have his brains beaten out. Based upon such accusations against Smith's veracity and upon such alterations of the details of Smith's accounts, one might say that Oldmixon's is one of the earliest histories of the Virginia colony to reflect the same kind of skepticism with regard to Captain Smith's

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[16]Beverley, Wright's "Introduction," p. xviii.

[17]John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, (London: For J. Brotherton, J. Clarke, and others, 1708), I, 361.

adventures in the New World that the English writer Thomas Fuller had exhibited in flippantly dealing with this subject in his Worthies of England some five decades earlier in 1660.[18] In Oldmixon's account one finds that:

> Captain Smith, in his Expedition among the Savages, was surprised, assaulted, and taken Prisoner by them. He was then making Discoveries on the River Chicohomony, where Oppecancanough, a King of that Nation, fell upon him treacherously, and put all his Men to Death, after he had forced them to lay down their Arms. He not only spared Mr. Smith's Life, but carried him to his Town, feasted him, presented him to Powhatan, the chief King of the Savages, who would have beheaded him, had not he been saved at the Intercession of Powhatan's favorite Daughter Pocahonta, of whom we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter.[19]

In the 1741 edition of this work--the one in whose preface Oldmixon finally identifies the Virginia gentleman, whom he always referred to in earlier editions as being the primary source of his Virginia materials, as William Byrd of Westover--we find the author's criticism of John Smith and the above promised further treatment of Pocahontas are to this effect:

> The manner of his [Smith's] Treatment among the Indians, and his Escape, his Friendship to Nantaquaus: the King's Son, and the surprising Tenderness of Pocahonta, his Daughter, for him, when he was to be executed, are Incidents equally agreeable and surprizing, but pretty romantick and

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[18]Although no mention is made of Pocahontas, for tongue-in-cheek comments on Smith, see Thomas Fuller, Worthies of England, ed. John Freeman (1660; rpt. London: George, Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1952), p. 75.

[19]Oldmixon, p. 359.

> suspicious, Capt. Smith having never dropt his main Design to make himself the Hero of his History, in which Sir William Keith copied him very faithfully. We must not omit the wonderful Humanity of Pocahonta, who when Mr. Smith's Head was on the Block and she could not prevail with her Father to give him his Life, put her own Head upon his, and ventured the receiving of the Blow to save him, tho' she was then scarce thirteen Years old: A remarkable Instance [of] how vain we are to ourselves, in thinking that all who do not resemble us in our Customs are barbarous.[20]

In examining this passage one should note that although Smith's character is not held in very high esteem as he is taken to task for overstating the case in his own favor when he describes in rather heroic terms his actions in dealing with the Indians, there is no glimmer of doubt with regard to the rescue's actual occurrence, and much is made of the nobility which Pocahontas displays in those actions on her part that result in the saving of Captain Smith's life. Also, it is interesting to note that Oldmixon, speaking perhaps as Byrd had prompted him to do, takes this occasion to depict Pocahontas not as the child of ten to whom we are introduced in Smith's True Relation, but as the young Indian maiden of twelve or thirteen whom Smith had described in "The Letter to Queene Anne" that appeared in Book IV of The Generall History of Virginia. This is certainly an important choice, for the fact that she was a young lady, rather than a child, forms the basis for the relationship of romantic love between Smith and Pocahontas upon which

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[20]Oldmixon, p. 361.

later writers of creative treatments of these materials were to draw so heavily in their retelling of the story.

Having dealt with the rescue scene, Oldmixon (or Byrd as the case may be) moves rapidly in three short paragraphs to Smith's departure from the colony and in so doing omits all reference to the other acts of kindness which Pocahontas did on behalf of Smith and the other colonists during the twenty-one month interim between January 1608 and October 1609. Some three pages later, however, Oldmixon returns to the Pocahontas story as he presents to his reader, in their appropriate sequence, accounts of Argall's capture of the princess, of the partially unfruitful bargaining with Powhatan for her release, and with much greater brevity, of the circumstances of her conversion and marriage. Having disposed of these matters, he deals expansively with the political and social advantages that such a marriage brought to the colony. Indeed, the whole of Oldmixon's treatment of the story is done with an eye for the politic which is absent from Beverley's treatment and which is reflective of William Byrd's concern with rank, titles, and royal politics as opposed to Beverley's unconcern, and even disdain, for the trappings of life as lived by titled Englishmen.[21]

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[21]Beverley, Wright's "Introduction," pp. xviii-xix.

In his account of Pocahontas in England, Oldmixon does perpetuate Beverley's episode concerning King James' displeasure with Rolfe's marriage to a princess without having first obtained royal permission, and of the resolution of this matter he writes:

> Tho' in that King James shew'd a very noble piece of King-Craft; for ther was no Likelihood that Mr. Rolfe, by marrying Pocahonta, could any way endanger the Peace of his Dominions, or that his Alliance with the King of Wiccomaco could concern the King of Great Britain. Indeed we are told that upon a fair and full Representation of the Matter, the King was pleased to be satisfy'd.[22]

One may say to their disadvantage that Oldmixon's accounts of the Pocahontas episodes are too greatly colored by the consuming interest in the affairs and tastes of English royalty and that they perhaps take Smith too stringently to task for his boasting and for the lack of gratitude which he seems to display during his first meeting with Pocahontas in London. But the real strength of this presentation lies in the very fact that it modifies to some degree the worshipful attitude toward Smith that Beverley had maintained; thus was the captain made more credibly human and hence more acceptable to other human beings. It is worthy of mention that while Oldmixon either ignores or skims lightly over several incidents in the Pocahontas story, his account proves valuable because it furnishes the reader with yet another point of view--that of the

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[22]Oldmixon, p. 367.

person with something other than "the common touch" for which Beverley so ardently strove in his presentation of the material.

In Oldmixon's assessment of Smith in the 1741 edition of his History, he mentions two other historical accounts that deal with the same matter--that of R[obert] B[everley] Gent[leman] and that of Sir William Keith. Of the latter he observes--as was mentioned above in a citation--that, with regard to Smith's projection of himself as a hero, "Sir William Keith copies him very faithfully."[23] And again a few lines later he observes, concerning the same subject,

> Captain Smith's Relation of his Adventures in this Country relates not so much to the Country, Settlement and Trade, as to himself; most of them are, as we have said, carefully preserved in Sir William Keith's History of Virginia to which I refer the curious in such things. . . .[24]

Sir William Keith, a baronet of Scottish descent, was appointed in 1714 to serve as surveyor-general of customs for the Southern colonies. During the first part of his tenure in that office, Keith made an inspection tour of the customs service of Virginia and Pennsylvania,[25] and from such an association it may be suspected that Keith's

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[23]Oldmixon, p. 367.

[24]Ibid.

[25]W[infred] T[rexler] R[oot], "Sir William Keith," The Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone, X (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1933), 292-93.

interest in the history of Virginia had its origin. After having served as royal governor of Pennsylvania from 1717 until 1726, having fallen from grace with the colony's proprietors, and having failed in 1728 to gain the speakership of the Assembly by means of a plebiscite, Keith returned to England to claim his inheritance. This unfortunately consisted more of debts than anything else, and Sir William was cast into debtors' prison in 1734, where he was to spend the remaining fifteen years of his life.[26] Some four years after the date of his incarceration, the first--and only--section of a work by Keith entitled The History of the British Plantation in America with a Chronological Account of the Most Remarkable Things, which happen'd to the first Adventurers in their several Discoveries of the New World appeared bearing the subtitle: "Containing the History of Virginia; with Remarks on the Trade and Commerce of that Colony." In his presentation of the early history of the colony Keith relied heavily upon Smith's Generall Historie, but at those junctures when Smith is abused--as was the case when he was denied his rightful place on the council, for example--Keith is most defensive of his hero. The same intensity of emotional tone appears in those instances when the historian finds the opportunity to extol the merits of Smith. As an example of this

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[26]Root, DAB, X, 293.

author's extremely pro-Smith attitude, one might examine the following conclusion to the aforementioned matter of Smith's being denied his seat on the council:

> . . . there was great Need of a careful Watch, and good Discipline; in all which, Captain Smith shewed such Courage and Conduct that the whole Company insisted on his being admitted to take his place on the Council, which [Note the heroic proportions of this statement] was no sooner agreed to, but the Indians sued for Peace.[27]

Even though he at times outdoes his model in the image of the hero that he projects, with regard to details Keith follows rather scrupulously, with only a single significant exception, the presentation of the Pocahontas story that appears throughout Smith's Generall Historie. Earlier writers, some even more so than Smith, had without exception clearly indicated in their accounts that the conversion of the princess Pocahontas had preceded her marriage to John Rolfe. Keith, however, in writing of this matter says:

> Mr. John Rolfe, and his wife the Princess Pocahontas, who after marriage had been baptized by the Name of Rebecca, went along in the same Ship with Sir Thomas Dale and landed at Plymouth on the 12th of June [1616].[28]

Stylistically the Keith account has more literary merit than either the Beverley or the Oldmixon presentation of the Pocahontas materials, and it may certainly be argued that

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[27]Sir William Keith, The History of the British Plantations in America, I (London: S. Richardson, 1738), p. 59.

[28]Ibid., p. 129.

with its depiction of Captain Smith as the ultimate hero at every juncture where he appears in the action, Keith's is the most romantic presentation of the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe story that had appeared up to the point of its publication.[29]

The next treatment of the Pocahontas materials that deserves attention is that presented by William Stith in his History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, which is generally reputed to be one of the most detailed and trustworthy of the extant accounts of early colonial history. Stith's work, which appeared first in 1747, deals with the affairs of this first permanent English plantation in North America from its establishment down through 1624. If Smith's narratives can be called trustworthy, Stith's can also be characterized as reliable, for the latter's chronicles are so much like the former's that Stith could, probably without injustice, be accused of plagiarism. Compare for example, Stith's version of the rescue with that which was written by Smith and which was quoted in an earlier chapter:

> When Smith entered, all the People gave a Shout; and the Queen of Appamatox was appointed to bring him Water to wash his Hands, and another brought a Bunch of Feathers, instead of a Towel, to dry them. After

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[29]Oldmixon, 1741 edition, p. 361. Here Oldmixon speaks of Captain Smith's accounts as being "pretty romantick" and in the next sentence observes that "Keith copies him [Smith] very faithfully."

> that, having feasted him in their best Manner, a long Consultation was held; at the Conclusion of which, two Stones were brought before Powhatan, and Smith was dragged to them, and his Head laid thereon, in order to have his Brains beat out with Clubs. But Pocahontas, the King's darling Daughter, when no Entreaty could prevail, got his Head into her Arms, and laid her own upon it to save his Life. Whereupon Powhatan was persuaded to let him live, to make himself Hatchets, and her Bells, Beads and Copper.[30]

With the exception of a few modernizations of spelling and punctuation and of a few instances of bringing the language and syntax up to the levels of usage that were current in Stith's day, the passage quoted above is an exact mirroring of the episode as it is related in the third book of the Generall Historie, and this same degree of fidelity to his source is to be found in all of Stith's accounts concerning Pocahontas with only two exceptions. We have observed both of these differences in earlier writers, but in neither case did the author approach the level of influence which Stith enjoyed as a historian.

Just as in the case of Keith's History, one finds in Stith a statment which seems to imply that Pocahontas was married to Rolfe before her conversion to Christianity, a point which is contrary to records that were contemporary with the event[31] and one which has spawned considerable

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[30]William Stith, History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (Williamsburg, Va.: William Parks, 1747), p. 55.

[31]See "Letter from Sir Thomas Dale to the R[everend] And My most Esteemed Friend D[octor] M[ocket[" and "Letter

debate among later writers of historical accounts:

> All this while, Sir Thomas Dale, Mr. Whitaker, Minister of Bermuda-Hundred, and Mr. Rolfe, her husband, were very careful and assiduous, in instructing Pocahontas in the Christian Religion; and she on her Part, expressed an eager Desire, and shewed great Capacity in learning. After she had been tutored for some time, she openly renounced the Idolatry of her Country, confessed the Faith in Christ, and was baptized by the Name of Rebecca. But her real name, it seems was originally Matoax; which the Indians carefully concealed from the English, and changed it to Pocahontas, out of a superstitious Fear, lest they, by Knowledge of her true Name, should be enabled to do her some Hurt. She was the first Christian Indian in these Parts, and perhaps, the sincerest and most worthy, that has ever been since. (Here Stith gets caught up in his admiration for Pocahontas's noble nature.) And now she had no Manner of Desire, to return to her Father; neither could she well endure the brutish Manners, or Society, of her own Nation. Her Affection to her Husband was extremely constant and true: and he, on the other Hand, underwent great Torment and Pain out of his violent Passion and tender Sollicitude for her.[32]

And a bit later in speaking of the attitude of the English king toward the union of John Rolfe and Pocahontas as man and wife, we find Stith repeating the episode that Philip Barbour says (Pocahontas and Her World, p. 162) was apparently an original product of Robert Beverley's imagination. Having mentioned the general acceptance of Pocahontas as a person of rank and quality by the members of the English court Stith adds:

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from the Reverend Alexander Whitaker to William Gouge" in Hamor, A True Discourse (London: John Beale, 1615), pp. 51-68.

[32]Stith, p. 136.

> There hath been indeed a constant tradition that the King became jealous and was highly offended at Mr. Rolfe, for marrying a Princess. That anointed Pedant, it seems, had so high an idea of the Jus divinum, and indefensible Rights of Powhatan, that he held it a great Crime and Misdemeanor, for any private Gentleman to mingle with his Imperial Blood. And he might perhaps likewise think, consistently with his own Principles, that the Right of these Dominions would, thereby, be vested in Mr. Rolfe's Posterity. However, it passed off, without any farther bad Consequences, than a little Displeasure and Murmuring.[33]

In comparing this presentation to Beverley's treatment of the same episode, one can hardly fail to be impressed with the differing attitudes expressed by the two writers toward the British Monarch which causes the early writer (a staunch Tory) to speak always with respect when referring to his King and which allows the later writer (an ardent Whig) to speak of James as an "anointed Pedant." Interestingly enough this is merely reflective of the changing American point of view from that of the loyalist to that which was to lead to revolution some three decades after Stith's history appeared.

II. Still in Smith's Shadow But With a New National Flavor

With Stith's History we conclude our examination of representative non-fiction treatments of the Pocahontas story that were written during the portion of the eighteenth

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[33]Stith, p. 142.

century that preceded the American Revolution. It should be remembered that while these writers were generally loath to ignore the Pocahontas story in dealing with the colonial history of Virginia, in almost every case they saw this series of events merely as one thread in the long and varied history of the British nation. Since this was the case, they tended to attach no greater historical importance to the story, or to the establishment of the Virginia Colony for that matter, than to any other part of their nation's past. With the separation of the American colonies from the mother country following the American Revolution, however, all of this changed and what had previously been handled as an interesting historical story, became the basis for a national legend. Smith's actions immediately took on more heroic proportions in the hands of American writers, and Pocahontas became even more graphically portrayed as the representation of those qualities which were associated in the romantic mind with the unspoiled wilderness and the noble savage. In commenting on the new attitude toward American subjects in general and toward the founding fathers in particular during the years immediately following the Revolution, David D. Van Tassel writes:

> American authors (historians, biographers, and writers of children's books) took a filio-pietistic view of American subjects. The uncritical worship and near-sanctification of historic figures is to be found in the literature of most countries, but in the United States it has played a far larger part in creating the national heritage. . . .American writers of this period used the techniques of eulogy

> and fictional anecdote illustrating character, and the result was legend. . . .No American of the period seemed to have any doubts that the founders of the new republic, their names and deeds, would find an important place in the annals of mankind.[34]

What followed from such an attitude was an attempt to create a national hagiography to which the writers of non-fiction prose contributed a steady stream of books and articles that dealt with all phases of America's colonial past and perhaps no phase of that heritage had wider treatment than the accounts of our colonial beginnings. In the North it was the story of the Pilgrim fathers, and in the South it was the story of Jamestown, in which the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe episodes always assumed a prominent role, that vied for acceptance as the true origin of our national heritage.

One of the premises upon which the founders of the new American republic operated was the fact that the basis of an enduring democracy could only be laid upon a system of government founded upon a heritage of which the governed could be proud. They realized that, as Jefferson so aptly phrased it, "the most effective way to prevent the perversion of power and the growth of tyranny is to enlighten the people at large."[35] Partially to achieve this end Jefferson wrote the "Diffusion of Knowledge Bill" for

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[34]Van Tassel, pp. 66-67.

[35]"Letter; Jefferson to James Monroe, 1785," in The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Paul L. Ford (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892-99), IV, 52.

the state of Virginia in 1779, thus making it the first state to require the study of American history in the public schools.[36] Such laws as this were soon also passed by other states, and textbook writers set to work to provide materials that were appropriate for use in programs aimed at teaching Americanism. Among these textbooks there are numerous presentations of the episodes in American history that deal with Smith, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe--all of which are designed to contribute toward the shaping of the mind of the young reader in the direction of a filio-pietistic veneration of these characters as national heroes, but none of these is more effectively written than that which appears in Noah Webster's Work entitled An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking. This work was first published in Philadelphia in 1787 and became widely known by its popular title, "The Little Reader's Assistant." Beginning on page eighty-nine Webster includes a four-page section which bears a subtitle, "History of Pocahontas," and one who is familiar with earlier treatments of these same materials has not read many lines into this author's presentation before he realizes that there is a tone, a flavor, and an attitude of mind here which is very foreign to anything he has previously encountered in reading about the life of the Indian princess. Indeed, the thread

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[36]Van Tassel, p. 77.

of the story is the familiar one--beginning with Smith's expedition and continuing to tell of his capture and of Pocahontas's ensuing rescue of the captain, and so on up to the event of the Indian maid's untimely death at Gravesend; but the adjectives and descriptive phrases that Webster enploys give one a much stronger image of Smith as hero--"the bravest, the most intelligent, the most humane of the first colonists"--of Pocahontas as heroine--"the protectoress of the English" . . . "this angel of peace"--and of all kings as arrogant, cruel men who are "infatuated with the prerogatives of royalty."[37] This is the kind of doctrinaire approach to the presentation of historical material that Jefferson had in mind when he revealed his respect for the "didactic properties of history."[38]

Yet another approach to engendering patriotism by means of emphasis on popular history was taken by writers, or compilers, of biographical dictionaries such as John Elliot or William Allen or, most important of all, by Jeremy Belknap, who in 1789 began publishing biographical sketches and thus established the method that was finally to become the basis of his American Biography (first

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[37]Noah Webster, An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking (1797; rpt. Albany, New York: Charles R. and George Webster, 1804), pp. 89-92.

[38]Van Tassel, p. 77.

edition, 1794). Belknap's design was to include "Adventurers, Statesmen, Philosophers, Divines, and other remarkable characters" in a roster of subjects whom he considered worthy of biographical treatment, and his sketches rarely transcended their author's avowed purpose of presenting "a recital of the events" which would closely connect the subject's life and his actions.[39] In the initial volume of the series Belknap included a sketch of "Captain John Smith"[40] which in general is closely patterned after Smith's various accounts of his travels and adventures and which relies heavily on the Generall Historie for accounts of Smith's sojourn in the Virginia colony and hence for the Pocahontas materials that his sketch includes.

Belknap does little of the moralizing or eulogizing which are so prominent as features of Webster's telling of the story; however, in at least one respect he is truer to Smith's presentation [of the story] than any writer that we have examined up to this point. Smith's account of the episode which he refers to as a "mascarado" had either been ignored completely, or the sexual implications of the encounter had been glossed over by those who handled the story in that interim between Smith's and Belknap's

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[39]Jeremy Belknap, American Biography (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1794-98). See the title page of any volume for such a statement of purpose.

[40]Ibid, I. 240-319.

treatments. Beverley, for example, includes a detailed account of the first portion of the episode in a chapter which deals with "Sports and Pastimes of the Indians,"[41] but he ends his presentation short of Smith's

> Having reaccomodated themselues, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these Nymphes more tormented him then euer, with crowding, pressing and hanging about him most tediously crying, Loue you not me? Loue you not me?[42]

In the Oldmixon account this episode is mentioned not at all, and both Sir William Keith and William Stith made only passing mention of the fact that "Powhatan being thirty Miles off, was immediately sent for; and that in the meantime Pocahontas and her women entertained him [Smith]" in a manner that Keith merely refers to as "elegantly" but which Stith more fully describes as, "a strange Mask and barbarous Piece of Revelry" that was followed by a feast consisting of "all the savage Dainties they could devise."[43] As one would expect, this episode is completely ignored by Webster in his volume aimed entirely at a juvenile audience; but Belknap includes the episode in its entirety with a prefactory comment to the effect that, ". . . his daughter,

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[41]Beverley, pp. 222-23.

[42]John Smith, The Generall Historie of Virginia, ed. Edward Arber. A New Edition with a Critical and Biographical Introduction by A. G. Bradley (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), II, 436. Hereafter referred to as Smith, Works.

[43]Keith, p. 83; Stith, p. 78.

Pocahontas, entertained Smith and his company with a dance, which for its singularity, merits a particular description" and with an afterword which mirrors Smith as it states that "The dance was followed by a feast, at which the savage nymphs were as eager with their caresses as with their attendance;" and that at the conclusion of this, "they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of fire brands."[44]

Although Belknap is more faithful to his source in presenting the "mascarado" episode than are any of his predecessors after Purchas, one finds that he deviates from or embroiders upon the Pocahontas story as Smith had first presented it in at least two instances. One of these has to do with his inclusion of the fiction that Beverley had popularized concerning the extreme displeasure of King James over the marriage of a commoner to a princess, albeit she was a savage one, without his royal sanction; but unlike the pre-Revolutionary presentations of this matter, Belknap's account does not soften the accusatory tone which speaks of the king's "pedantic affectation" by noting, as others before him had done that the situation became more acceptable to James when he fully understood the political expediency of the marriage.[45] In a second instance Belknap,

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[44]Belknap, I, 285.

[45]Ibid., p. 309.

in a sketch which presents the biography of Lord Delaware and which appears in the second volume of American Biography,[46] supplies a romantic embroidery upon the myth about the Indian princess that was originally presented by Stith as he conjectured about the reasons why Pocahontas was "concealed" among the Potowmack when Captain Argall Captured her.[47] Belknap first states that "the reason for her quitting the dominion of her father is unknown," but, as if it were an afterthought, he modifies this opinion and says,

> Certain it is, that he (Powhatan) had been in a state of hostility with the Colony ever since the departure of Smith; and, that the frequent depredations and murders committed by the Indians on the English were in the highest degree painful to this tender-hearted princess.[48]

Knowing what we do about the nature of Pocahontas from earlier accounts than this, it is not hard to accept the image of the Indian princess that is projected by this author as being a true one. Nevertheless, there is no more basis in documentable fact for this conjecture than there was for Beverley's romanticizing about the king's attitude concerning the Rolfe-Pocahontas marriage. The most notable thing about Belknap's presentation of the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe episodes, however, has to do with the fact that in

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[46]Belknap, II, 2-50.

[47]Stith, pp. 127-28.

[48]Belknap, II, 41.

this author's hands these three characters become truly credible. Webster's claims in their behalf seem to leave a "too-good-to-be-true" sort of doubt in the mind of the reader, but with Belknap one finds an author who tells him this pleasantly romantic story in such a way that the depiction of its characters is always positive without projecting such an exaggerated halo effect as to make them unbelievable.

In 1796 William Robertson's History of America made its appearance, and although this work was written by a Scotsman, its presentation of material closely resembles in its flavor its American counterparts. Footnotes, which identify Robertson's sources, indicate that he drew heavily upon accounts found in Smith, Purchas, and Stith for his Pocahontas material, and indeed one may observe that the very verbiage of his accounts corresponds in most instances with that of his sources. With regard to one segment of the Pochaontas story, however, Robertson is uniquely at variance with his sources and with all other writers who handled these materials either before or after him. This departure occurs as he gives a completely new twist to the oft-repeated story which tells of how John Rolfe fell in love with Pocahontas. All other versions state that it was while Pocahontas was a political prisoner, after she had been captured by Captain Argall, that this love affair began. Robertson, on the other hand, completely deletes

from his account any mention of Argall's capture and incarceration of the Indian princess and explains the origin of the couple's love quite differently:

> An event, which the early historians of Virginia relate with peculiar satisfaction, prepared the way for this union (the treaty that ensued between the whites and the Indians). Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of the great Chief Powhatan, to whose intercession Captain Smith was indebted for his life, persevered in her partial attachment to the English, and she frequently visited their settlements (Smith says that she was not seen in the settlement for upwards of two years after his departure.) where she was always received with respectful hospitality, her admiration of their arts and manners continued to increase. During this intercourse, her beauty, which is represented as far superior to that of her countrywomen, made such an impression on the heart of Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank in the colony, that he warmly solicited her to accept him as a husband.[49]

And in this same romantic vein Robertson continues:

> Where manners are simple, courtship is not tedious. Neither conscience prevents, nor ceremony forbids the heart from declaiming its sentiments. Pocahontas readily gave her consent; Dale encouraged the alliance, and Powhatan did not disapprove it. The marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp; and from that period a friendly correspondence subsisted between the colony and all the tribes subject to Powhatan. . . .[50]

Following this passage Robertson presents an account of Pocahontas's sojourn in England which amounts to a twelve-line abbreviation of the standard presentation of

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[49]William Robertson, The History of America, Books IX and X: Containing the History of Virginia to the Year 1658; and of New England to the Year 1652 (1796; rpt. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1799), IX, 83.

[50]Ibid., pp. 83-84.

this portion of her biography, and then he ends this phase of his History abruptly as he comments on the benefits to be derived from intermarriage with the Indians and expresses his amazement at the fact that Rolfe has been so seldom imitated in this action.[51]

The foregoing narratives of the Pocahontas story, even that found in the Generall Historie itself, all seem prosaic when compared with John Burk's version of the story in his History of Virginia, from Its First Settlement to the Present Day, which saw its way through the presses in 1804 and which, as the author claims in his preface, in its three volumes presents for the first time in published form a number of documents valuable to the study of Virginia's history.[52] In fact, few, if any, of the subsequent creative or factual treatments of the Pocahontas materials contain as many embellishments or as much pure dramatizing and romanticizing as they do when handled by Burk, who is ever the ardent Jeffersonian, the fervid democratic nationalist, and the highly imaginative writer. Take, for example, Burk's treatment of Smith's initial appearance at Powhatan's court and of the rescue scene which follows:

> On Smith's entrance, the attendants of Powhatan shouted. The queen of Appamattox was appointed to

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[51]Robertson, p. 84.

[52]John Burk, History of Virginia from Its First Settlement to the Present Day (Petersburg, Va.: Dickson and Pescud, 1804), I, ii.

bring him water to wash, whilst another dried his hands with a bunch of feathers.

A consultation of the emperor and his council having taken place, it was adjudged expedient to put Smith to death, as a man whose superior courage and genius made him peculiarly dangerous to the safety of the Indians. The decision being made known to the attendants of the emperor, preparations immediately commenced for carrying it into execution, by means as simple and summary as the nature of the trial.

Two large stones were brought in and placed at the feet of the emperor; and on them were laid the head of the prisoner: Next a large club was brought in, with which Powhatan, for whom, out of respect was reserved this honor, prepared to crush the head of his captive. The assembly looked on with sensations of awe, probably, not unmixed with pity for the fate of an enemy whose bravery had commanded their admiration; and in whose misfortune their hatred was possibly forgotten.

The fatal club was uplifted: The breasts of the company already by anticipation, felt the dreadful crash, which was to bereave the wretched victim of life; when the young and beautiful Pocahontas, the beloved daughter of the emperor, with a shriek of terror and agony, threw herself on the body of Smith. Her hair was loose, and her eyes streaming with tears, while her whole manner bespoke the deep distress and agony of her bosom. She cast a beseeching look at her furious and astonished father, deprecating his wrath, and imploring his pity and the life of his prisoner with all the eloquence of mute but impassioned sorrow.

The remainder of this scene is honorable to the character of Powhatan! It will remain a lasting monument, that tho' different principles of action and tho' influence of custom, have given to the manners and opinions of this people, an appearance neither amiable nor virtuous, they still retain the noblest property of the human character, the touch of pity, and the feeling of humanity.

The club of the emperor was still uplifted; but pity had touched his bosom, and his eye was every moment losing its fierceness. He looked round to collect his fortitude, or perhaps to find an excuse for his weakness in the faces of his attendants; But every eye was suffused with the sweetly contagious softness. The generous savage no longer hesitated. The compassion of the rude state is neither ostentatious; nor dilatory; nor does it

> insult its object by the exaction of impossible conditions; Powhatan lifted his grateful and delighted daughter; and the captive scarcely yet assured of safety, from the earth.[53]

In like fashion Burk handles the ensuing episodes of the Pocahontas story--embellishing, dramatizing, romanticizing at every turn--until at the end he writes, as a kind of summation, a most compelling character sketch of the princess:

> The character of this interesting woman, [he begins] as it stands in the concurrent accounts of all our historians, is not. . . .surpassed by any in the whole range of history; and for those qualities more especially, which do honor to our nature; an humane and feeling heart; an ardor and unshaken constancy in her attachments; she stands almost without rival.
>
> At the first appearance of the Europeans, her young heart was impressed with admiration of the persons and manners of the strangers; But it is not during their prosperity, that she displays her attachment. . . .She is not influenced by awe of their greatness or fear of their resentment, in the assistance she affords them. It was during their severest distresses, when their most celebrated chief was captive in their hands, and was dragged through the country, as a spectacle for the sport and derision of her people that she places herself between them and destruction.[54]

Having once again thus briefly reviewed all of Pocahontas's ministrations in behalf of the colony, Burk then states:

> But in no situation does she appear to more advantage, than when disgusted with the cold formalities of a court and the impertinent and troublesome curiosity of the people, she addressed

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[53]Burk, pp. 112-14.

[54]Ibid., pp. 186-87.

> the feeling and pathetic remonstrance to Captain Smith, on the distant coldness of his manner. . . . Briefly she stated the rise and progress of their friendship: modestly she pointed out the services she had rendered him; concluding with an affecting picture of her situation, at a distance from her country and family, and surrounded by strangers in a strange land.[55]

And as Burk reaches the high point in the process of his eulogy, he adds, as if by obligation:

> Indeed, there is ground for apprehension that posterity in reading this part of American history, will be inclined to consider the story of Pocahontas as an interesting romance; that in those times, a portion of fiction was deemed essential to the embellishment of history: It is not even improbable that, considering everything relating to Captain Smith and Pocahontas as a mere fiction, they may vent their spleen against the historian for impairing the interest of his plot, by marrying the princess of Powhatan to a Mr. Rolfe, of whom nothing had previously been said, in defiance of all expectations raised by the foregoing parts of the fable.[56]

And finally, concerning the death of his heroine, Burk says:

> It is the last sad office of history to record the fate of this incomparable woman. The severe muse, who presides over this department, cannot plant the cypress over her grave, and consign her to the tomb with the stately pomp and graceful tears of poetry: She cannot with pious sorrow inurn the ashes and immortalize the virtues of the dead by the soul piercing elegy, which fancy, mysterious deity, pours out wild and plaintive; her hair loose and her white bosom throbbing with anguish. . . .She died at Gravesend, where she was preparing to embark with her husband and son, on her return to Virginia. Every thing had been done for the accomodation of this interesting family during the voyage, and in order that the state and figure of her husband might

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[55]Burk, pp. 187-88.

[56]Ibid., p. 188.

> bear some proportion to the quality of the princess, he was made secretary or recorder general, a place, which appears to have been created expressly for the occasion. Her death was a happy mixture of Indian fortitude and Christian submission, affecting all those who saw her, by the lively and edifying picture of piety and virtue, which marked her latter moments.[57]

In 1803 William Wirt had inquired why Virginians had, "instituted no festival" to memorialize Pocahontas.[58] Still Jamestown's bicentennial passed with relatively little notice. The Burk chronicle, however, served as a kind of inspiration for the celebration of the whole of the first two centuries of Virginia history. In its wake appeared a steady stream of works, both creative and non-fiction pieces written by authors who treated their subjects imaginatively in their attempts to bring about acceptance of an American literature based upon subjects drawn from the historical and social heritage of their newly established nation. Among the incidents which were the threads in the fabric of our colonial past and which were the source of the raw material used by those writers, none was more popular than the story line which embraced the episodes from our early history that involved Pocahontas, John Smith and John Rolfe.

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[57]Burk, pp. 188-89.

[58]William Wirt, The Letters of the British Spy in South-Literary Classics Series (1803; rpt. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), p. 168.

After Burk's dramatic performance in handling the story, the next significant non-fiction treatment of the Pocahontas materials was included in Edmund Randolph's History of Virginia, which was written between the end of 1809 and the author's death in 1813. The "Plan of the Work," composed by this significant political figure, who was a major lawyer, a member of George Washington's first cabinet, and a direct descendant of Pocahontas as well as being a gifted writer, appeared in the December 26, 1809, edition of the Richmond Enquirer, and this prespectus proved invaluable in identifying the unsigned manuscripts of Randolph's work which began to be unearthed by antiquarians and scholars some sixty years after the author's death. After years of controversy that raged over numerous textual discrepancies that were to be found in the various transcripts of Randolph's work, it remained for Arthur H. Shaffer to publish in 1970, under the auspices of the Virginia Historical Society, a collation of the various texts of the History.

Throughout the Pocahontas accounts, as well as in his other reflections of early Virginia history, Randolph clearly regarded his native state as the progenitor of American republicanism. As he relates the dramatic intervention by Pocahontas on behalf of Captain Smith, a man he regarded as the colony's savior, Randolph writes in

a language that almost equals that of Burk in its rhetorical flair:

> The next moment would have terminated the existence of a man who was the prop and the ornament, the soul of the Virginian enterprise; had not some sudden impulse of love or compassion taken possession of the heart of Pocahontas, who was Powhatan's favorite daughter, then not fourteen years of age. All her entreaties to her father for mercy to Smith being ineffectual, she caught his head in her arms and covered it by resting her own upon it. Parental affection was by this scene as rapidly moved as her feelings had been at first in Smith's favor at the view of his prostration to be sacrificed. Her ascendancy in her father's breast was demonstrated when the obdurate savage in one instant counterfeited an excuse for saving Smith's life by assigning to him the duty of making hatchets for royal use and bells, beads and copper for Pocahontas. Let the moralist and poet vie with each other in the description of this extraordinary reverse in the fate of this most extraordinary man. Let the Virginia patriot rather ascribe the preservation of Smith to that chain of grand events of which the settlement of Virginia was destined to be the foremost link, and which finally issued in the birth of our American Republic.[59]

A few pages later, in relating the instance of the warning which Pocahontas delivered to save Smith from Powhatan's plan to massacre him, Randolph observes:

> But Pocahontas, actuated by the same principle which had before rescued Smith from death. . .warned him of his danger. Her magnanimity was conspicious in refusing to receive those little presents with which she had generally been delighted [All other accounts have stated that "fear" rather than "magnanimity" was at work here]. To her disinterestedness [Could he mean selflessness?] and

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[59]Edmund Randolph, History of Virginia, H. Shaffer (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. 24-25.

> frankness, the dissimulation and treachery of her father were a painful contrast.[60]

Although most of Randolph's accounts of the Pocahontas episodes are lifted verbatim from the work of his kinsman, Stith, there is one other passage which is important in considering the interpretation that this author gives of the character of the Indian princess. He states that:

> Almost every occurrence in the life of Pocahontas is associated with some benefit to the colony. Her original name Matoaka had been changed through some superstitious notion. For some reason or other she concealed herself on the banks of Potomac to shun, as has been conjectured,[61] the sight of those bucheries which after the departure of Captain Smith, the English by their folly and rashness put it out of her power to avert. With what justice soever the character of an uncivilized Indian may have been drawn as cool, cruel, sullen, suspicious, and designing, a better class ought to be assigned to hers. Beautiful, engaging and innocent, she had a passionate and susceptible heart, looking however up to Smith as a second father, not as a companion for love.[62]

Next come examples of the great number of periodical essays that were to be written about various aspects of the Pocahontas story. Although "An Araucanian Pocahontas," whose author is anonymous, first appeared in an English periodical entitled La Belle Assembleé in September 1819,

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[60]Randolph., p. 31.

[61]See Stith, pp. 127-28; Belknap, II, 41.

[62]Randolph, pp. 61-62.

it has appeared in an American printing as well,[63] and it offers a unique version of the events that followed Pocahontas's rescue of John Smith that anyone interested in the Pocahontas materials could hardly fail to be intrigued by. In the rescue account itself one finds the first variants, in that Smith was not dragged but, "walked with undaunted and high-minded composure to the place of execution" and bowed his head to the "fatal granite block."[64] The major departure from the standard treatments of Smith's first visit to Powhatan's village, however, relates to the next day after the rescue scene. With regard to the maternal origins of the Indian princess, this author states at this juncture that

> This lady, on the side of her mother, could boast a descent from the celebrated South American Lautaro. She gloried in her Araucanian ancestors, and while Smith rested a day at her father's palace, related to him that her maternal progenitor was the sole offspring of the young hero, who as the captive and page of the Spanish General Valdiva, was compelled to witness an engagement with his own countrymen. Seeing them almost overpowered by the Europeans, he was inflamed by patriotic ardour, darted from the hostile ranks, rallied the Araucanians, and gained a complete victory. Valdivia, taken prisoner, entreated for his life. Lautaro interceded for his late master, and the humane Caupolican granted the boon; but an old ulman exclaiming that the murderer of thousands should forfeit the one life he had to

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[63]"An Araucanian Pocahontas," in La Belle Assemblee (Sept., 1819; rpt. Richmond: The Researcher, 1927), 1, 235-46.

[64]Ibid., p. 235.

> lose and with one stroke of the club put a period to Valdivia's existence.[65]

The parallels to be observed between the passage just cited and the rescue episode in the Smith-Pocahontas story are extremely interesting since they add an even greater quality of romance to the rescue and offer further evidence of the degree to which the imagination of writers was being employed in embroidering upon Smith's original presentation of this episode.

One of the earliest references to the Indian princess in relation to the sectional argument between the North and the South over the question of slavery is to be found in a pamphlet entitled Pocahontas: A Proclamation. This brief treatise, which devotes itself to defending the benefits of unlimited slavery, was written by William Hillhouse and first appeared in 1820. Having addressed his remarks from the people of Virginia to the people of the non-slave-holding states, the author proposes the thesis that "The welfare of the body politic, depends upon the subordination of the inferior members to the head."[66] And then, as if to justify the right of Virginians to dictate policy in this matter, Hillhouse proclaims, "We [as Virginians] are the descendants of Pocahontas, which

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[65]"An Araucanian," pp. 235-36.

[66]William Hillhouse, Pocahontas: A Proclamation. [Virginia], (n.p., 1820), p. 3.

entitles us to royal consideration. . . ."[67] After pursuing his thesis for another ten pages, Hillhouse ends this haughty, self-serving proclamation, which he again identifies as being "Given at our imperial City of Richmond, the first Year of the crusade for unlimited slavery!!--In testimony whereof we have caused to be hereunto affixed the royal name of POCAHONTAS."[68] While this short work makes direct reference to none of the episodes that we have earlier identified as being familiar parts of the Pocahontas story, it is interesting to note that here is a possibly satiric, but probably serious, attempt to dwell upon the royal nature of the Indian girl and to draw a kind of royal lineage for the white inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Virginia based upon the intermingling of white blood with that of Indian royalty which occurred with the birth of a child to John Rolfe and the Lady Rebecca. Using the regal origins of the early Virginia heroine in this way could have had nothing but an adverse effect on the popularity of the Pocahontas story outside of the South, and just such treatments may have led to some of the attacks that were to be aimed at the veracity of Smith and the moral character of Rolfe and Pocahontas by writers in the North as the nation moved ever closer to the era of the Civil War.

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[67]Hillhouse, p. 3.

[68]Ibid., p. 13.

Almost four decades after the appearance of Webster's Little Reader's Assistant, a second work dealing with the Pocahontas story in a manner that intended to appeal especially to young readers was written by Samuel Goodrich. This work, Stories About Captain John Smith of Virginia; for the Instruction and Amusement of Children, appeared in 1829 and is a blend of what its subtitle promises: a group of entertaining stories which are told, as often as not, with an eye to moral instruction. The book begins with a basic geography lesson which deals with Jamestown, thence moves to an account of the early settlement made there by the English, and then, beginning on page nine, centers the reader's attention on one of those settlers, Captain John Smith. Smith's early life is the beginning point of the story; and while the account of his running away from home becomes an object lesson of what youngsters should avoid doing, the image projected of the lad is generally positive. Then, having moved in rather detailed fashion through Smith's pre-American adventures and his voyage to the Virginia colony, one finds Goodrich turning his attention to the story of his hero's adventures in the wilderness and recounting the rescue episode in the usual fashion. As a commentary on the character of the Indian princess after her rescue of Smith, however, we find the author remarking,

> What a worthy girl was this! She was a savage, but her deed was noble! She had never been taught

> to love her enemies; but she shewed a benevolent disposition. Indians are cruel, and at times excessively so; but they sometimes show kind and generous feelings. The name Pocahontas, and her generous deed, ought to be remembered, and will be remembered while America lasts.[69]

Following these comments Goodrich presents the standard accounts of Pocahontas's involvement with the colonists which are to be found in the Generall Historie--omitting only the accounts of the "mascarado" and of Argall's kidnapping of the princess, both of which he probably considers to be unsuitable for his young readers. Near the end of his work, having described the Lady Rebecca's death, Goodrich then raises the question of whether Smith's accounts are to be accepted as completely true and he responds to the query with a very affirmative, "Yes, they are."[70] Drawing upon thorough characterizations of Pocahontas and Smith which he has projected throughout his work, Goodrich concludes his presentation with a didactic passage which epitomizes the lessons to be learned from his subject as he affirms:

> Learn then, my little friend, from the early conduct of Captain Smith, to act a wiser part. Be sober, be honest, be diligent in some useful employment, and more than this, be religious; and then you will certainly be respected, and be very likely to be happy.[71]

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[69]Samuel Goodrich, Stories About Captain John Smith (Hartford, Conn.: H. & F. J. Huntington, 1829), p. 69.

[70]Ibid., p. 93.

[71]Ibid., p. 97.

Some five years after Goodrich's work appeared, a biography of Smith, The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith, was published in Boston with George S. Hillard as its author. This work has little to recommend it since throughout it is generally nothing more than an exercise in holding a mirror up to Smith's accounts as they appear in the Generall Historie.[72]

Throughout the latter two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the rescue of the English captain by the Indian princess was widely used as a subject for treatment in both popular and serious periodicals. An excellent early example of this is to be found in an anonymous article which is contained in an issue of The Family Magazine of 1836, and which provides the reader with an engraving bearing the title "Pocahontas Saving the Life of Capt. John Smith." This caption is followed by a reprint of Smith's account of the rescue episode as it appears in the Generall Historie, but the writer of the brief introductory paragraph which precedes Smith's text mistakenly identifies the source of the narrative as being Smith's True Travels.[73]

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[72]George S. Hillard, The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith in Jared Sparks Library of American Biography, IV (Boston: n. pub., 1834).

[73]"The Rescue of Captain John Smith," The Family Magazine (New York: 1836), pp. 363-64.

The next historian to treat the Pocahontas theme with any degree of significance was George Bancroft, whose History of the Colonization of the United States was first published in 1834. The account of Pocahontas's rescue of Smith presented by Bancroft is that which by this time had come to be considered to be the standard one, but like Burk, this author brings a very flowery manner to his telling of the episode. As Bancroft tells it, it is a "tomahawk"--and not a "club" that is poised menacingly above Smith's head--an insignificant variant of Smith's text except that it is indicative of the author's affinity for the jargon which had become popular usage among white men when they spoke of or wrote about the Indian.[74] Other than this Bancroft follows the pattern of Smith's original account very closely, only embroidering various details by his extravagant style of writing. As no previous handler of the material had done, however, this author concludes his version of the story with the marriage of the Indian princess to John Rolfe and makes no mention of the Rolfe family's journey to England and hence of the fact that Pocahontas died there on the eve of her return to Virginia.

In the April 1838 issue of the Southern Literary Messenger appeared a charmingly written, unsigned article

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[74]George Bancroft, History of the Colonization of the United States (1834; rpt. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1841).

that dealt nostalgically with the girlhood haunts of the Indian maiden.[75] In his boyhood the unknown author had often visited the "Basin of Pocahontas" within the present limits of the town of Petersburg on the north bank of the Appomattox. As the author describes this landmark, it was an oval excavation about twelve inches across and six inches in depth, located in the side of a large dark gray stone of conical form five feet high and somewhat more in diameter. Except in extremely dry weather it was never without water. Since the site of the first settlement in America was so nearly lost,[76] this author's account of his visit to the ruins of Jamestown, his description of the red stone tablets festooned with dark green vines, the ruins of the church with the graves of Pocahontas's descendants around it, is most impressive.

From the graveyard the author takes us into the picture gallery that is housed at the Cobb family homestead. Here he sees Rolfe on a peeled and tattered canvas and a

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[75]"Pocahontas, The Indian Princess," The Southern Literary Messenger, 4 (1838), 227-28.

[76]In 1856 the peninsula on which Jamestown was located became an island. In that same year twenty-two acres, including the historic portion of the island, were given by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Barney to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. The waves were rapidly making encroachments on the very site of Jamestown, when the government built a seawall for the association before tercentenary day. See Mrs. Roger A. Pryon, The Birth of the Nation (New York: Macmillan, 1907), pp. 332-35.

portrait of Pocahontas which he remembers that one of her lineal descendants denounced as being that of a "tawny mulatto." The painting is large as life, well executed, and thought to be a real portrait. It was in decay even then, and the writer speaks of copies made by Sully.[77]

Based on those facts which have been mentioned in the preceding discussion of the article by this anonymous author, it might be assumed that he did not adhere very closely to the standard treatments of his subject. Such, however, is not the case, for many of the usual details which are there have been passed over in order that those which are either extraneous to, or on the fringe of, previous accounts will stand out in an even bolder relief.

Concerning the occasion of the unveiling in the rotunda of the nation's capitol on the thirtieth of November of J. G. Chapman's mural which depicted "The Baptism of Pocahontas," the following favorable account appeared in the National Intelligencer for Tuesday, December 1, 1840:

> The subject of this painting, which we had the pleasure of yesterday examining, is the Baptism of Pocahontas. Of the merit of this painting we shall express no presumptuous judgment, though it certainly left on our mind a vivid impression of its beauty as a work of art.[78]

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[77]"Pocahontas, The Indian Princess," p. 227.

[78]"Mr. Chapman's Painting of the Baptism of Pocahontas," National Intelligencer (Washington, D.C.: Tuesday, December 1, 1840), p. 3, col. 3.

The article concludes by giving a description of the setting of the baptismal scene, a list of the persons depicted in it, and of the events in Pocahontas's experience that led up to this juncture in her life. This unnamed correspondent gleans all his information from a pamphlet account whose author remains here equally anonymous.

In 1844 Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall presented a short and highly imaginative estimate of the character and deeds of Pocahontas in their work entitled History of The Indian Tribes of North America.[79] Such are the merits of this brief treatment in revealing the heights to which the romantic imagination--and tone or style--could soar in dealing with the Indian princess even in material that pretended to be historically authentic, that inclusion of at least a portion of it seems important:

> The romantic story of Pocahontas forms a beautiful episode in the history of this period. Though born and reared in savage life, she was a creature of exquisite loveliness and refinement. The gracefulness of her person, the gentleness of her nature--her benevolence, her courage, her noble self-devotion in the discharge of duty, elevate this lovely woman to an equality with the most attractive of her sex; and yet those winning graces and noble qualities were not the most remarkable features of her character, which was even more distinguished by the wonderful tact and the delicate sense of propriety, which marked all the scenes of her brief, but eventful life.[80]

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[79]Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, History of The Indian Tribes of North America, III (Philadelphia: Daniel Rice and James G. Clark, 1844).

[80]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

And a bit later, in speaking of Pocahontas's several ministrations to the colony, they observe:

> By her intervention, her courage, and her talent, the Colony of Virginia was several times saved from famine and extermination; and when perfidiously taken prisoner by those who owed everything to her noble devotion to their cause, she displayed in her captivity a patience, a sweetness of disposition, and a propriety of conduct that won universal admiration.[81]

As an interleaf between pages sixty-five and sixty-six, a copy of the Sully portrait of Pocahontas is inserted into this highly laudatory account with these comments appended:

> An authentic portrait of this lovely and excellent woman copied from a picture in the possession of her descendants in Virginia forms the chief attraction of this number of our work. Her original name was Matoaka, which signifies literally the Snow Feather, or the snow flake, which was also the name of her mother; and both were represented as being remarkably graceful and swift of foot. She was afterwards called Pocahontas, A rivulet between two hills, a name supposed by some to be prophetic as she was a bond of peace and union between two nations.[82]

What we find in this work by McKenney and Hall, then, is a treatment that, although it pretends to be historically authentic, closely parallels in its vigorous language and in its sense of the dramatic those presentations of the Pocahontas story that were being fashioned with regularity

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[81]McKenney and Hall, pp. 65-66.

[82]Ibid., p. 66.

by poets, dramatists, and fiction writers during the first half of the nineteenth century.

William Gilmore Simms, who is more readily remembered for his historical novels which draw their substance from their setting in the period of the American Revolution or from their presentation of life in the hinterlands which formed the frontier in America, also composed several pieces which, in one way or another, were related to the story of Pocahontas. For example, in his essay entitled "Pocahontas, A Subject for the Historical Painter," which first appeared in the September, 1845 issue of the Southern and Western Magazine and was later collected by the author in Views and Reviews, First Series,[83] Simms deals with the romantic side of the John Smith incident and vizualizes the scene as if he were a painter--philosophizing on the emotions of the characters involved in and of the spectators who viewed this famous scene. In commenting on this effort by Simms, Dr. Russell J. Almus observes that the primitive people, whom Simms draws so painstakingly for his reader in this essay, "may be productively compared with those depicted in Scott's Lady

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[83]William Gilmore Simms, Views and Reviews in American Literature, History, and Fiction, First Series, ed. C. Hugh Holman (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1962), pp. 112-27.

of the Lake; but," he adds, "the events of this legend of Virginia are more convincing."[84]

The next year after the first appearance of the aforementioned essay, Simms published The Life of John Smith which would, he took pains to assure his reader in the "Advertisement," employ, "as much of Smith's own language," as was possible, "without scruple and with little alteration."[85] At this same juncture, Simms also identified his sources who, in addition to Smith, were "Stith, Beverley, Burk, Purchas, Bancroft, and the neat and well-written Life of Smith by Mr. Hilliard [sic] contained in the Library of American Biography."[86] Although several other writers, who were his predecessors in the treatment of the Pocahontas materials, had subscribed to the idea that the Indian princess was thirteen or fourteen years of age when she first met Smith, Simms clings to the age of Pocahontas as it is given in A True Relation and argues that Burk, Stith, and his other post-Smith sources are in error when they describe her as being older than ten years of age at the time of the rescue. Then, after following Smith's Generall Historie very closely in describing all

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[84]Russell J. Almus, "The Indian in American Literature," Diss. Cornell, 1929, p. 198.

[85]William Gilmore Simms, The Life of John Smith: The Founder of Virginia (Boston: Bazin and Ellsworth, 1846), "Advertisement."

[86]Ibid.

other details of the rescue scene, Simms wonders about the fact that this episode is completely ignored in A True Relation as he says, "it is curious to note that the whole event is omitted, not even the slightest allusion being made to Pocahontas [with regard to Smith's being held captive by the Indians]."[87] Following this slight intrusion of doubt, Simms returns, in respectful silence, to the path followed by most of his predecessors as he dutifully presents the patterns of the Pocahontas story line as Smith had first recorded them.

At some time before September of 1846 the Honorable Waddy Thompson who was "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico" had published a volume entitled Recollections of Mexico in which he included a passage comparing Pocahontas and Marina, the chere amie and interpreter of Cortez, "much to the advantage of the latter."[88] This treatment was taken to task by James Chamberlayne Pickett in a letter which was first published in the Washington Union in September of 1846 and was then reproduced the next year as a pamphlet which instead of bearing its author's name merely appeared with the phrase

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[87]Simms, The Life, "Advertisement," II, 150.

[88][James Chamberlayne Pickett], The Memory of Pocahontas Vindicated Against the Eroneous Judgment of the Hon. Waddy Thompson, Late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico by a Kentuckian (Washington, D.C.: J. & G. G. Gideon, 1847), p. 5.

"a Kentuckian" employed as a signature. This letter attacks Thompson's allegation that Pocahontas, "is thrown into the shade," by Marina and appeals first to the "sober second-thoughts of the author himself;" next, "to the people of Virginia;" then, "to our countrymen and countrywomen generally;" and finally, "to the admirers of virtue, humanity, and nobleness of soul wherever they are to be found;" for Pickett argues, "all such must admire the daughter of Powhatan."[89]

After he gets thus warmed up to his task, Pickett becomes eloquent in the fashion of the spread-eagle orator as he observes:

> In all history and all romance it would be difficult to find a more perfect character than Pocahontas, and in taking her as she has come down to us it appears to me to be impossible to say wherein it could have been improved. And she was doubtless what she has been represented to be. This I conceive to be one of the most incontestable facts of history. The proof is, the account given of it by Capt. John Smith, a man incapable of falsehood or of exaggeration, who wrote what he himself had witnessed and whose accounts had the sanction and belief of contemporary thousands, hundreds of them being eye-witnesses of what he narrated and described. And to this may be added tradition, which may be always assumed to be unerring when it runs parallel with unimpeached and unimpeachable history.[90]

Pickett's presentation is the earliest defense of the princess Pocahontas against any negative claims simply

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[89][Pickett], p. 5.

[90]Ibid.

because, in so far as evidence shows, Thompson's attack, if indeed it was an attack, is the earliest piece on record to make any negative comparison of the Indian maiden with any other historical figure. This sort of bickering, however, is indicative of what was to come, for as time passed and the division of opinion between North and South was reflected by the writers from these regions, such an attitude of defense or attack with regard to the role of Pocahontas in early American history and to the veracity of Smith's accounts in dealing with that era became the rule rather than the exception.

Odard's "Pocahontas," which is to be found in a British journal--Bentley's Miscellany for January of 1848--gives a glimpse of the Indian princess as she is seen from the Englishman's point of view. The article begins with an elaborate account of the admirable qualities possessed by all Indians,[91] and then turns to that time when the British fought the campaigns of 1812 and 1813 on the western frontiers of Canada and were in intimate and constant association with the Indians. This general idealization is then transferred to the Virginia tribes of Indians: the two highland tribes, the Moncrahoa and Monacane, and the lowland tribes of Powhatan. By this

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[91]Odard, "Pocahontas: The Indian Heroine," Bentley's Miscellany, 24 (Jan. 1848), 45.

devious route this writer arrives at a brief sketch of one whom he refers to as "one of the aborigines of Virginia, an Indian girl named Pocahontas."[92]

Except for a few insignificant changes, Odard follows Smith's account throughout his sketch, but the rescue scene serves as the acme of this author's flight of fancy:

> During the awful deliberation of the fierce-looking conclave, Smith, entirely unappreciative of the savory preparations before him, was engaged in surveying the scene, and though his attention was naturally drawn to the circle of warriors who were agitating his destiny, it was divided with a young girl about sixteen years of age, who sat beside Powhatan. There was something in her form and face, in the expression of the one and the gesture of the other, that even in that hour of dread challenged and riveted his gaze. The lowness of the couch caused her attitude to be more of a reclining than a sitting posture, and to the exquisite symmetry of her shape was thus added the grace of ease. One knee was slightly upraised, and round it her tiny hands were clasped in support of the body which bent forward in eager anxiety. Her coal-black tresses parted on either side a brow singularly open and intelligent, rolled along the dusk satin cheek, and down in ebon waves over her rounded bosom and the shoulder's sweep. Every feature at the moment shewed some great struggle was going on. Within her young heart pity, apprehension, modesty and some great resolve struggled for the mastery.[93]

After the debate had ended and Smith was about to be executed, "Pocahontas sprang from her seat, and throwing herself at the feet of her father, embraced his knees, and pleaded in the name of the Great Spirit for the white man's

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[92]Odard, p. 45.

[93]Ibid.

life."[94] In the manner of the standard accounts of this episode, Powhatan is at first adamant; Pocahontas physically intercedes; and "this act of heroism" meets with the "success" which it merits.

Two works which appeared in 1849 had direct bearing on the treatments of the Pocahontas theme. During this year Richard Hildreth published what was to become an extremely popular History of the United States of America in which he presented what by now had become an almost shopworn presentation of these episodes. Smith's account minus the "mascarado" scene, Stith's explanation of the reason for Pocahontas's absence from Werowocomoco at the time when Captain Argall captured her, and Beverley's episode concerning the castigation of Rolfe for marrying a princess are all here.[95] More important than this, however, this year provides the first hint of Pocahontas's marriage to "a private captaine called Kocoum,"--a claim that was brought to light only with the publication by the Hakluyt Society of William Strachey's The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania which had existed only in its manuscript form prior to this time.[96] The publication of

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[94]Odard, p. 45.

[95]Richard Hildreth, History of the United States, I (1849); rpt. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882).

[96]See William Strachey, The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania, eds. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund

this source was to serve as the basis for a long standing, and as yet unresolved, controversy concerning the legal and moral implications of the marriage of Pocahontas to Rolfe and, coming as it did on the eve of the American Civil War, served well the purpose of those Northern historians who readily seized upon any opportunity to hold up to ridicule the heroes and institutions that were reverenced by the people of the South.

Although by this time some minor doubts had been raised about the veracity of Smith and about the heroic stature of the major characters in the Pocahontas story--Smith, Pocahontas, and Rolfe--the "fifties" represent a decade when writers generally continued to treat Smith's accounts with respect and to project the image of the hero and the heroine when making reference to these characters who played such a significant role in the early history of Virginia. In an address delivered at the annual commencement of Mississippi Female College on July 7, 1854, by A. Judson Crane, Esq. of Richmond, Virginia, and later that same year printed in pamphlet form, the author deals generally with the influence of women on Anglo-Saxon civilization. He begins his oration by briefly painting

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(London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1953), Wright and Freund's "Introduction," pp. xvi-xviii; p. 62. Also see the earlier R. H. Major edition where the text concerning Kocoum is located on page 54--an episode which is identical to the Wright edition.

Pocahontas as the savior of the first permanent Anglo-Saxon settlement in the New World as he makes the point that the colony would have perished without Smith who, in turn, would certainly not have survived had it not been for the Indian maid.[97]

Another bit of biography, which by its author's own admission had its basis in Smith's own works, is to be found in W. C. Armstrong's The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith[98] which appeared in 1855 and which presents all the standard accounts in a very pro-Smith manner. The next year a serialized version of The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith, which also corresponds closely to the accounts that Smith wrote of his own life, was prepared by John B. Duffey and appeared in six consecutive issues of Godey's Lady's Book beginning with the January number.[99]

In his work entitled The Indian Races of North America, which appeared in 1856, Charles De Wolf Brownell

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[97]A. Judson Crane, Esq. of Richmond, Virginia, An Address Delivered at the Annual Commencement of the Mississippi Female College at Hernando Desoto County, July 7, 1854 (Memphis, Tenn.: Steam Press of Mosebey and Finnie, 1854), pp. 3-6. See also: Sarah Josepha Hale, Woman's Record: or Sketches of all Distinguished Women From the Beginning 'till A.D. 1850 (New York: Harper, 1853), pp. 474-75.

[98]W. C. Armstrong, The Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith (Hartford, Conn.: Silas Andrews and Son, 1855).

[99]John B. Duffey, "The Life and Adventures of John Smith," in Godey's Lady's Book, 52 (Jan.-June, 1856).

presents verbatim many accounts extracted from Smith's Generall Historie, but interfused among these he places his own highly imaginative commentaries concerning the various situations in which the captain, the Indian princess, and Master Rolfe find themselves. After quoting exactly from Smith's account of the rescue scene, for example, one finds Brownell fusing his own comments with those of Smith as he writes:

> Entertaining his captive as a privileged guest, Powhatan now held long consultations with him, giving wonderful accounts of the vast western country and its inhabitants. Smith responded with details, equally amazing to the savage monarch, of the power and magnificence of the East. After two days of friendly intercourse, Smith was informed that he should return in safety to Jamestown; but as a prelude to the conveyance of this satisfactory intelligence Powhatan was at much pains to get up a theatrical scene that should impress or terrify his prisoner. Left alone in a large cabin, Smith's ears were saluted by strange and frightful noises from behind a mat partition, and incontinently, Powhatan, with some hundred of attendants all like himself, in hideous disguises, made his appearance. He appointed twelve Indians to guide him to the settlement, requesting that a grindstone and two great guns should be sent back, by them, in return for liberty and favours received at his hands.[100]

And another example of Brownell's garbled embroidery is to be observed in the comment that he appends to the account of Pocahontas's warning Captain Smith of impending attack, as he observes that, "one can readily imagine the distress of the poor child at feeling thus compelled, by her affection

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[100]Charles De Wolf Brownell, The Indian Tribes of North America (New York: Published at the American Subscription House, 1856), p. 161.

for her English friend, to become unfaithful to her father and to her own people."[101]

In the same year that Brownell's history appeared, Samuel Hopkins' work, The Youth of the Old Dominion, was published. In the words of the author's preface, this work is described as, "a volume designed for popular reading," an objective which will be attained by "giving the Past the aspect and hue of Life, to excite a personal interest in events which would secure little or none as unclothed."[102] Throughout the entirety of this work, one finds that the author's performance is as good as his promise, for he provides an extremely romantic telling of the Pocahontas story as he employs dialogue and other fictional and dramatic techniques to increase his version's effectiveness. To the usual accounts of the Pocahontas episodes which he uses as a broad base for his story line, Hopkins adds an interesting new dimension as he dwells on the interest that the young, pagan Indian girl shows in the religion of the white man. With regard to this aspect of the story, this author draws heavily upon his own imagination as he emphasizes Smith's role as the one who introduces Pocahontas to the Christian concept of God. Equally romantic is the myth-like episode in which Hopkins

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[101]Brownell, p. 176.

[102]Samuel Hopkins, The Youth of the Old Dominion (Boston: John Jewett & Co., 1856), p. i.

relates how Pocahontas, who is depicted throughout the work as an artless child, makes the gift of a pet deer to her English friend and mentor and suggests that he name it Pocahontas. By such imaginative embroidery, Hopkins brings an added impact to the dramatic effect and to the reader appeal of the Pocahontas story.[103]

In 1857 the most important treatment of the Pocahontas materials that had appeared since Burk's History was produced by Bishop William Meade in his history of the influence of Christianity on life in Virginia, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia. In this work, as one would suspect from its title, the author deals exclusively with that portion of the life of the Indian princess that ensued after her conversion to the Christian faith. He makes a point of taking Stith to task for his implication that the baptism of the Indian maid followed, rather than preceded, the ceremony which united her in marriage to John Rolfe. Meade cites what he considers to be unimpeachable documentary evidence that is contained in letters which Sir Thomas Dale and the Reverend Alexander Whitaker wrote about this matter and then shrugs off Stith's statement with, "On what authority Mr. Stith . . . relied,

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[103]Hopkins, pp. 108-22; 152-54.

I know not."[104] Like so many of his predecessors, Meade relied almost entirely on Smith's accounts as his major source of information, and this being the case, he accepted without question the incidents that were described and the character judgments that were included in these works.

Since an interest in genealogy and familial ties played a basic role throughout this study by Meade, one should not be surprised to find that a very important part of those passages devoted to Pocahontas has to do with her descendants. Of Thomas Rolfe--who was the only issue of the Rolfe-Pocahontas union and who, at his mother's death, was left in England to be cared for and educated--and his descendants, Meade writes:

> The son, after being educated in England by his uncle, Henry Rolfe, returned to America, and [thence] lived at Henrico where his parents had formerly lived, and afterwards became a person of fortune and distinction in the colony. He left behind him a daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling, by whom she left an only son, Major John Bolling, who was the father of Colonel John Bolling and of several daughters, one of whom married Colonel Richard Randolph, another Colonel Flemming, a third Dr. William Gray, a fourth Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and the last Mr. James Murray. . . .[105]

And a few lines later, he relates in the same vein that:

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[104]Bishop William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, I (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1857), p. 79.

[105]Meade, pp. 79-80.

> The son of Pocahontas, Thomas Rolfe, married Miss Poythrese. Their grandson, John Bolling, married a Miss Kennon, whose son John married a Miss Blair of Williamsburg, while Richard Randolph of Curls, fourth in descent from Pocahontas, married Miss Ann Meade, sister of Colonel R. K. Meade. Their daughter married Mr. William Bolling of Bolling Hall, Goochland County each of them being fifth in descent from Pocahontas.[106]

The next year, 1858, saw a continuation of the study of the genealogical aspects of the Pocahontas story in Governor Wyndham Robertson's Descendants of Pocahontas (Called Also Matoa),[107] and in this same year two children's books which treated the Pocahontas theme appeared. The first of these was written by George Canning Hill as a contribution to the American Biography Series and was published under the title of Captain John Smith: Founder of Virginia. In the prefactory remarks that precede the main text of his work, Hill states that this work is "designed particularly for the young . . . to present examples of true manhood, a lofty purpose and perservering effort. . . ." and to thus present patterns of character which are suitable, "for [the] admiration and emulation of the youth of the present day."[108] In attempting to achieve such a purpose, Hill maintains a deep, nostalgic veneration

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[106]Meade, pp. 79-80.

[107]Wyndham Robertson, Descendants of Pocahontas (Called Also Matoa) (Richmond, Va.: n.p., 1858).

[108]George Canning Hill, Captain John Smith: Founder of Virginia (Boston: Hill and Libby, 1858), p. 1.

of the past which is thoroughly laced with praise for Smith, Pocahontas, and Rolfe. There is, indeed, no hint of the doubt and denigration here that was to play such a pronounced part in many of the presentations of the Pocahontas materials in the next four decades.

The other work, also written especially for young audiences and dealing with the Pocahontas story, was probably published in 1858 or 1859, was anonymous, and was entitled Pocahontas the Indian Princess: A Golden Picture Book. This book, which is furnished with eight lithograph illustrations, has large letter text which is suitable for very young readers and which is drawn almost exactly from Smith's accounts for the most part. In fact the story line presents the rescue scene and Smith's ensuing sojourn in the colonies exactly as it is to be found in the Generall Historie, but when Captain Smith's departure from the colony comes to be discussed, this work deviates from Smith's account of his leaving because of physical injury as it states that, "Captain Smith, owing to the disagreement among the people, and their conduct towards him, was at length compelled to leave them for his home in England."[109] And rather than following Smith's account in having Pocahontas labor under the impression that her white friend was dead, this work further says:

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[109]Pocahontas, The Indian Princess: A Golden Picture Book (New York: Philip J. Cozana, 1858), p. 15.

> Before leaving for the ship, which was to carry him across the broad deep, he [Smith] sought out his preserver, Pocahontas, and bade her a sincere and tearful good-bye. Pocahontas was much grieved to have him leave them, for she deemed him a good and great man, moreover, she knew when he had departed, the link that united her father with the white man, would be broken and open warfare would prevail.[110]

When the subject of Pocahontas's conversion is broached in this work, there is no doubt of where this writer's opinion lies in regard to the sequence of events; for he says in direct opposition to what Meade argued in his work:

> After her [Pocahontas's] marriage, Mr. Rolfe and his friends were very careful and patient in instructing Pocahontas in the Christian religion, and she on her part, expressed an eager desire to learn; and she proved an apt scholar. Her advancement was so satisfactory that she soon renounced the idolatry of her people, and was baptized by the name of Rebecca.[111]

And finally as a kind of eulogy to the subject of his work, this author writes a concluding paragraph in which he observes that:

> The historian, poet and painter, have all been eloquent in depicting the character of Pocahontas, her fame is in all lands, her praise on all tongues. To enlarge would be like adding "perfume to the violet." Who, reading the simple story of her heroism, has not felt his heart throb quick with generous emotion? She has been a silent though powerful advocate, in behalf of the race to which she belonged. Her deeds have covered a multitude of

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[110] Pocahontas, . . . Golden, p. 15.

[111] Ibid., p. 26.

> their sins. With a softened heart we turn from the cruel recital of Indian treachery, and admit there must have been fine elements of character in a people from which such a being could spring.[112]

Although it first appeared in 1860 on the eve of a series of widespread attacks on Smith's veracity with regard to his presentation of the Pocahontas episodes in general and of the rescue scene in particular, there is no hint in Charles Campbell's History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia that he has any doubts at all about the truth of the rescue story or of the other segments concerning Pocahontas which had first appeared in Smith's Generall Historie.[113]

III. Four Decades of Controversy

With the consideration of Campbell's History, one comes to the end of that early national period when all writers were generally "pro-Smith" in dealing with the Pocahontas materials. It is true that up to this point a few doubts had been voiced and a few questions had been raised about the fact that all of Smith's presentations of Pocahontas story as they appear in his various works do not agree in every detail; but no serious questions concerning the veracity of the English captain had been raised, and

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[112] Pocahontas, . . . Golden, p. 31.

[113] See Charles Campbell, History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860), pp. 45-49; 62; 107-123.

no really negative images of Smith, Pocahontas, or John Rolfe had been projected by any writer prior to 1860. Then suddenly there appeared an unobtrusive footnote, the progenitor of a "great demon Skepticism," which seemed to take on enormous proportions almost overnight.

Indeed, it was in 1860--the same year that Campbell had first published his History that was so supportive of Smith as a veracious source--that Charles Deane of Cambridge, Massachusetts edited Wingfield's "Discourse"[114] and in a note questioned seriously for the first time the rescue of Smith by Pocahontas as being a true story. Having noted the discrepancy between Smith's earlier and later accounts with regard to the rescue episode, Deane observes:

> The story [of Pocahontas's rescue of Smith] is an interesting and romantic one. But the critical reader of the accounts of Smith's adventures in Virginia will be struck with the fact that no mention whatever is made in his minute personal narrative [A True Relation] covering this period, written at the time, on the spot and published in 1608; nor in the narrative of his companions, in the appendix to the tract of 1612 [A Map of Virginia]; in neither of which is any attempt made to conceal his valiant exploits and hair breadth escapes.[115]

What follows this statement in Deane's note are direct citations of passages dealing with the rescue which are to be found in the 1622 edition of New England Trials and in

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[114]Edward Maria Wingfield, "A Discourse of Virginia," ed. Charles Deane in Archaelogia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1860), IV, 67-103.

[115]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

The Generall Historie of Virginia and he finally argues:

> No one can doubt that the earlier narrative contains the truer statement, and that the passage last cited [from the Generall Historie] is one of the few or many embellishments with which Smith, with his strong love of the marvellous, was disposed to garnish the stories of his early adventures, and with which he or his editors were tempted to adorn particularly his later works. The name of Pocahontas, afterwards the "Lady Rebecca," had become somewhat famous in the annals of Virginia, since the time Smith knew her there at the age of thirteen or fourteen, when he left the Colony for England. From her position she had been the means to render the colony some service. . . .The temptation, therefore, to bring her on the stage as a heroine in a new character in connection with Smith, always the hero of his chronicles . . . appears to have been too great for him to withstand, and was not to be resisted by those interested in getting up The Generall Historie; and therefore, in reproducing the account of his imprisonment, this story . . . is introduced for the first time into the narrative of this portion of his adventures.[116]

In the doubts expressed by Deane about the reliability of Smith's accounts, one finds that this author is offering to his reader a point of view concerning the Smith-Pocahontas relationship that is vastly different from that held by any of his predecessors. As such, Deane, whether he realized it or not,[117] was establishing the basis for a bitter literary controversy that was to rage between

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[116]Wingfield, Deane edition; p. 94.

[117]Deane remarked some twenty-five years after his edition of Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia" that he, "had no idea that the matter [his taking Smith's veracity to task] would excite so much interest as it has." This often quoted remark first appeared in: Charles Deane, "Pocahontas and Captain Smith: A Reminiscence," in Magazine of American History, VIII (May, 1885), 492.

Smith's detractors and his defenders during the remainder of the nineteenth century and to a lesser degree was to be a matter of interest in the first half of our own.

Since this controversy formed the basis for so much of what writers did with the Pocahontas story during the decades after Deane's comment, it behooves us at this point to review the evidence that this Boston antiquary used in arriving at his conclusions about Smith's reliability as a historian. Simply stated, the facts of Deane's case are these: The rescue story originally started with Smith. All the accounts of it which have been published are his or are referable to him. For the omission of the rescue from the account in A True Relation, which is so important a plank in Deane's argument, Smith may or may not have been responsible. This writing was actually not prepared for publication by Smith, but was passed around among his friends, in manuscript form, until someone decided it was valuable material for the printer. Its first copies have at least three publishers, all spurious or anonymous, while the true publisher with whom Smith dealt remains unknown.

One of these early publishers says in a note that there was something more written which he thought proper "to be private and suppressed." Some of those who have implicit faith in Smith believe that this was the story of the rescue which was omitted because the details of Indian hostility it contained might discourage immigration. These

defenders show the exact place where the story fits in and prove with careful technical reasoning, that A True Relation is not as Smith wrote it. Their conclusion is that although not printed, the story was so well known that it caused no surprise or comment by its appearance either in Smith's Letter to the Queen in 1616 or in the Generall Historie which appeared almost a decade later. On the other hand, those who do not believe in Smith's veracity claim that the Letter to the Queen (which, as has previously been noted, conveniently did not appear in print until after both Pocahontas and the Queen were dead) was just another one of his inventions to aggrandize himself. These critics hold that Smith was just a "blustering braggadocio" who wanted to call attention to himself at the time Pocahontas was causing such a sensation in London. As Deane sees it, Smith's True Relation and Wingfield's "Discourse" are the two best extant sources if one wishes to go to the works of contemporary authorities for records of the events of the first years of the colony.

Although the saving of Smith's life was only one of the many honorable deeds Pocahontas performed, it was the most spectacular one and as such was so treasured by the public that all others sank into relative oblivion. Since everyone recognizes how profoundly history influences literature, he must realize that Deane's disclosure of his doubts in 1860 becomes doubly significant. Not only has

every historian who has written about the history of early Virginia since Deane's footnote appeared and who has not shirked his responsibility in the matter been forced to either defend or attack the veracity of the story, but creative writers as well--especially in the field of prose fiction--have had to decide whether to treat Smith's account seriously or lightly.

Whether or not it was true, the story of Smith and the Indian princess was to continue in its role as a source of material for writers of fictional treatments, and many people, especially those with Southern sympathies, tended to agree with Lawrence J. Burpee's observation that appeared in the Dial in 1907 and which is phrased in the form of a question as the author asks, "Who would exchange Captain Smith for a score of veracious historians?"[118] Nevertheless the legend's development after 1860 bears the mark of the changed historical attitude brought to the fore by Deane.

Response to the "anti-Smith" arguments was not long in coming, for in the same year that Deane first called attention to the omission of the Pocahontas story in Smith's early works, there appeared a partial answer to the attack in an article on the "Marriage of Pocahontas" by Wyndham Robertson which was published in the Southern Literary

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[118]Lawrence J. Burpee, "Adventures of John Smith," Dial, 58 (1907), 163.

Messenger.[119] Although it was written primarily to correct two erroneous ideas that were widely circulated concerning the marriage of the Indian princess, this article also includes a few arguments in favor of accepting the truth of the Pocahontas-Smith story. One of the errors connected with the marriage of Pocahontas seems to have become deeply embedded in early history, namely that Pocahontas was wed to Rolfe in April, 1613 instead of April, 1614.[120] Here Robertson argues convincingly that the mistake was due to the improper placement of a marginal note in Smith's text which the early historians almost without exception had used as their primary source. The second error which is discussed in Robertson's article has to do with Strachey's reference to Pocahontas's "so-called first marriage"[121] to an Indian. Using as his basic argument the rule of evidence which holds that the testimony of an eyewitness, or a participant, is much more valid than the mere presentation of secondhand, or hearsay, accounts, Robertson relies upon

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[119]Wyndham Robertson, "Marriage of Pocahontas," Southern Literary Messenger, 31 (Aug., 1860), 81-91.

[120]Robertson points out that "Stith says, 'it was in the beginning of April 1613' (p. 130); Beverley says, 'Pocahontas there being married in the year 1613' (p. 28); Simms 'Spring of 1612' (p. 335); Campbell so late as the present year (1860) says, 'early April, 1613' (p. 109)" See "Marriage of Pocahontas," p. 81.

[121]See Strachey (Wright and Freund Edition), p. 54; Robertson, pp. 85-86.

what he considers to be the irrefutable testimony of Sir Thomas Dale who was Governor of the colony at the time of Pocahontas's marriage and who, as such, was requested by John Rolfe to lend his approbation to this union between an Indian woman and an Englishman. The fact that Dale makes no mention of Pocahontas having been previously married to the Indian "private Captain, Kocoum" prior to her capture by Argall and that no chronicler other than Strachey makes mention of this prior marriage, is evidence enough to cause Robertson to label Strachey's account as "simply incredible."[122]

In 1862, a pair of anonymous but excellent articles concerning Pocahontas and John Smith appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger. The first of these gives arguments to prove the authenticity of the rescue story. In answering Deane, this author attempts to prove that such intercession on behalf of a prisoner was not a rarity and as evidence he cites a parallel case of a white prisoner being rescued by an Indian maiden and receiving a pension from the United States government as her reward.[123] The second

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[122]Robertson, p. 88.

[123]"Smith's Rescue by Pocahontas," Southern Literary Messenger, 34 (1862), 626-31. See also: "Report of Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives of Congress of the United States of America, presented Feb. 28, 1843"; Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1898), p. 82 recounts the case of John Oritz who was captured in Florida in 1528.

article is like the first in its acceptance of the rescue story. Then this author turns his attention to the last episode in the Pocahontas story as he attempts to offer an explanation of the probable reason for the inaccurate record of the burial of Pocahontas at Gravesend, England. Having pointed out that the parish register has this inaccurate entry: "1616, March 21, Rebecca Wrothe, wyffe of Thomas Wrothe, Gentleman, A Virginia lady borne: was buried in the Chauncell," this writer suggests that the "curious" mistake Wrothe for Rolfe is to be accounted for by the similar sound of the two names and by the fact that to the almost unlettered parish clerk the former was much the more familiar name, there being numerous parishioners named Wrothe in the vicinity of Gravesend. The article goes on, possibly without much merit, to suggest that the substitution of Thomas for John may be accounted for by the fact that the infant son of the Rolfes, Thomas Rolfe, had just been baptized, and in registering the boy's baptism and his mother's death, the name of the father and son were confused. The merits of this argument must be questioned when one remembers that Thomas Rolfe was born well before his parents departed from Virginia and hence was probably baptized on his native soil. It is almost certain, this writer further argues, that a monument to the Lady Rebecca existed; however, the church burned in 1727, and not only

destroyed all memorials, but also lost to posterity her grave's location.[124]

After some four years during which no non-fiction presentations of the Pocahontas story appeared that are worthy of mention, Charles Deane came to the fore again in 1866 as he repeated and accentuated his doubts in a series of notes which were appended to his edition of Smith's earliest record of his adventures in the Virginia, A True Relation.[125] And it was in this same year that the Reverend John G. Palfrey--a Unitarian minister, a classmate of Jared Sparks at Harvard, and one of the most noted regional historians of his day--in an edition of the History of New England presented a point of view in dealing with the Smith-Pocahontas legend which, although less stringent in its attack, was somewhat supportive of Deane's negative views with regard to Smith's veracity in presenting these matters.[126]

Other early support for Deane's attacks on Smith was forthcoming as early as 1867, for in that year Henry Brooks Adams reviewed Deane's work in "The Myth of

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[124]W. S. B., "Pocahontas, or, The Lady Rebecca," Southern Literary Messenger, 34 (1862), 641-47.

[125]John Smith, A True Relation, ed. Charles Deane (Boston: Wiggins and Lunt, 1866), pp. 33-38; 72.

[126]John Gorham Palfrey, History of New England (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1866).

Pocahontas Exploded" in the North American Review[127] and observed that it would be very difficult for the American people to reconcile themselves to any change "in the received opinions concerning the early Virginia history."[128] He illustrated "this strict adherence to a received form of narration"[129] by making use of a long quotation from Bancroft, a standard authority on the history of the United States. This quoted passage, Adams points out, contains the very spirit of Smith's account of the rescue found in the Generall Historie and illustrates how firmly the story was entrenched even in the mind of one of the most learned historical scholars that our nation has produced. Adams' arguments are very scholarly, very convincing, and provide an admirable supplement to Deane's expression of his doubts about the truth of Smith's Pocahontas story.

Two years later, in 1869, two important works--one derogatory of and the other supportive of the stance taken by Deane--appeared. In an unsigned article[130] which was published in the July issue of the Southern Review, the support given by Deane and Adams to Wingfield and their

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[127]Henry B. Adams, "The Myth of Pocahontas Exploded," North American Review, 194 (1867), 1-31.

[128]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[129]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[130]"Pocahontas," Southern Review, 6 (July, 1869), 160-81.

attacks upon the veracity of Smith were belligerently taken to task. While this anonymous writer agrees that there are discrepancies between the accounts to be found in A True Relation and the Generall Historie, he argues that these two works differ only, "in certain unimportant particulars, respecting the power of Powhatan, the number of guards assigned to Smith in his captivity, &c."[131] He continues, however, by submitting that the works of both Deane and Adams which deal with the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe episodes should be maturely considered "as partaking of the spirit of the age . . . which requires that all things which may be doubted should be submitted to proof"[132] even though "their researches" deal with questions which centuries of belief and support should have elevated "above the reaches of hostile criticism."[133] A basic premise of the argument presented here is that "The good name of Pocahontas rests not on tradition merely;"[134] and to prove this point an imposing list of historians, beginning with Robert Beverley, is cited as a source for a "historical character" that in the hands of such latter day critics as Deane and the reviewers of his efforts, "is so changed by omissions and

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[131]"Pocahontas," Southern Review, p. 160.

[132]Ibid., p. 161.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Ibid., p. 168.

insinuations, that what was once accepted as the rarest and most beautiful specimen of Indian womanhood . . . becomes a mere myth and her history the invention of 'hack-writers for popular effect.'"[135] Having thus clearly stated his opinion, this author continues to castigate Deane thoroughly for his "great cold-heartedness and unfairness" which causes him to lean "entirely to one side,"[136] and, as a parting shot, he closes his article with a most vitriolic accusation against what he considers to be this bit of "slanted" scholarship:

> If Pocahontas, alas, had only been born on the barren soil of New England, then would she have been as beautiful as she was brave. As it is, however, both her personal character and her personal charms, are assailed by at least two knights of the New England chivalry of the present day.[137]

On the other hand, the views which had first been introduced in Deane's notes were given great support by the Reverend Edward Duffield Neill, whose History of the Virginia Company of London and two ensuing publications of the same material under different titles[138] not only emphatically denied the

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[135]"Pocahontas," Southern Review, p. 162.

[136]Ibid., p. 175.

[137]Ibid., p. 179.

[138]See Chapter V in The History of the Virginia Company of London which was also printed separately as Pocahontas and Her Companions (Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1869); later in The English Colonization of America (London: Straban & Co., 1871).

truth of Smith's accounts of his Virginia adventures, but also leveled slanderous charges against the moral character of Pocahontas and against the honesty of her husband, John Rolfe[139]--all of which serves to paint a more negative picture of these early Virginians than any previous writer had done.

After the debates over the relative merits or demerits of the character of Smith, Pocahontas, and Rolfe that had been sparked on the eve of the Civil War by Deane's footnotes and that had been fanned into flames by the sectional bitterness which accompanied that conflict and its aftermath, the decade of the seventies was surprisingly serene in the treatments of the Pocahontas materials that appeared, if one assigns Neill's The English Colonization of America (1871) to the last years of the previous decade, which in all probability represent the time when it was actually written. In 1873 Paul Pryor issued Pocahontas; or, The Indian Maiden,[140] which bore the subtitle "A Big Picture Book" and was obviously prepared with very young readers in mind. The most impressive feature of this brief presentation is a series of beautifully prepared illustrative color prints which accompany a highly didactic

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[139]See Pocahontas and Her Companions, pp. 4-6; 26-28.

[140]Paul Pryor, Pocahontas: or, The Indian Maiden: [A Big Picture Book] (New York: McLoughlin Brothers, 1873).

version of the traditional Pocahontas story as tailored for its audience by omission of such suggestive episodes as the "mascarado" scene. In the face of such "purifications" of the story line, however, it is rather amusing to note that whenever she is pictured in the illustrations which relate to the "rescue scene" and other such episodes, Pocahontas is never depicted as "the child of ten" whom Smith describes in his earliest references to her in A True Relation, but as a very well-developed maiden indeed.

In 1874 there appeared a pamphlet whose author was anonymous and which was entitled Victor Nehlig's Great Historical Painting, Pocahontas, Reproduced on Stone by the Artist Himself. In this little book the author first includes a black and white print of Nehlig's historical painting which bears the title "Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain John Smith," and then in an essay which follows the print, he remarks that here is "a work that has been largely exhibited and has called forth the favorable comments of the Press in every locality where it has been shown."[141] What follows are citations of press reviews that have appeared in the major newspapers which are located in the various cities where Nehlig's picture has been viewed. Although much of what is presented in these reviews has to

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[141]Victor Nehlig's Great Historical Painting, Pocahontas, Reproduced on Stone by the Artist Himself (Cincinatti, Ohio: F. Tuckfarber & Co., 1874), p. 2.

do with Nehlig's abilities as an artist, these critics, by their silence in the matter, seem to indicate their universal acceptance of Smith's account of the rescue as a true one.

After a relative silence of three years with regard to further treatments of the Pocahontas story, Thomas Wentworth Higginson offered another children's version of these materials in his Young Folk's Book of American Explorers.[142] Although most of what Higginson presents with regard to Smith's rescue by Pocahontas and concerning the other less memorable incidents of her life are merely paraphrases of these episodes as they are told in Smith's Generall Historie, there is a reminder of Smith's current disrepute as a historian in a headnote that precedes the rescue story which states that:

> This narrative is taken from Smith's "Generall Historie." It was possibly written by Captain Smith, but is now generally disbelieved by historical students, because it is inconsistent with an earlier account of the same events, also written by Smith, and because the incident is not mentioned by Strachey, who also described the Virginia Colony.[143]

While the main test of Higginson's work follows Smith quite closely, this is the first instance that one finds of the

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[142]Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Captain John Smith in Virginia," Chapter IX in Young Folks Book of American Explorers (1877; rpt. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895), pp. 229-65

[143]Ibid., p. 241.

introduction of comments into a book prepared specifically for "young folks" that casts any sort of doubts upon the credibility of Smith's version of the story. While Higginson's note seems to be innocuous enough, it is a significant change in the course of what, prior to this time, had been primarily a battle of intellectuals with antiquarian interests. That is to say that up to this point in time the image of Smith as hero and of Pocahontas as heroine had been taken to task only in works that would appeal mostly to mature readers. With Higginson, albeit to whatever slight degree and whether it was intended or not, a new avenue--the minds of children--was opened up to a world of doubt about their former heroes. Fortunately, however, this approach did not prove popular, and writers of treatments of the Pocahontas materials presented in juvenile books written since the time of Higginson's efforts have generally maintained an attitude of acceptance that is close to veneration where Smith's credibility is concerned.

In 1878 the Reverend Philip Slaughter wrote A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax,[144] and in it is included without comment an interesting genealogical listing which traces the progeny of John Rolfe and Pocahontas through one line of nine ensuing generations that lead directly to the subject of this work as follows:

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[144]Rev. Philip Slaughter, A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax (n.p., 1878).

Pocahontas----------John Rolfe
Thomas Rolfe----------Miss Poythrese
Jane Rolfe----------Robert Bolling
John Bolling----------Mary Kennon
Jane Bolling----------Richard Randolph
Mary Randolph----------Archibald Cary
Anne Cary----------Thomas Mann Randolph
Virginia Randolph----------William Wilson Cary
Mary Randolph Cary----------Orlando Fairfax
Randolph Fairfax[145]

In the Appendix to Pocahontas by Edward Eggleston and Mrs. Lillie Eggleston Seelye, which appeared in 1878, one finds the first answers to Deane's accusations of Smith's veracity that are based on logical rather than emotional arguments. All the episodes which depict Pocahontas as a ministrant to the English and as the wife of John Rolfe are scattered throughout the text of this work in the chronological order of their occurrence, but in a footnote to the rescue scene the reader is promised a detailed discussion of this episode's validity in an appendix at the end of the book. True to their promise, on page three-hundred and three begins an appendix and note I of this deals with "Smith's Deliverance by Pocahontas." While these two authors do not seem to be dogmatic or emotional in their denial of the fact that Deane and his followers might have some historical basis for their argument that Smith's Pocahontas story is "a romantic tale invented by the gallant captain" for his own aggrandizement, they do not "consider it quite clear that [this . . .

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[145]Slaughter, p. 72.

pleasing story must be given up."[146] They readily admit that in A True Relation and A Map of Virginia no mention of the rescue is made, but they ask if one must not suppose that some prior favor to Smith might not be the basis of the praise which is heaped on the Indian girl when she is sent by her father to plead for the release of Indian prisoners. "Why," these writers inquire, "should Powhatan send so young a child to accompany a messenger on a difficult mission? Why entrust his daughter to the whites?"[147] And as if to respond to their own query, they reply that, "If she had delivered Smith all this would be natural enough."[148] Eggleston and Seelye then turn to that portion of A True Relation which by admission of the printer, has been deleted as being "fit to be private." This suppressed material, these writers contend, included anything that would make emigration from England to the colony less appealing, and they maintain that Smith's capture and near execution at the hands of a hostile Powhatan would certainly fall into this category. Having offered these arguments, then, they conclude by saying that

> While, therefore, much doubt is thrown upon the incident of Smith's deliverance by Pocahontas on account of its omission from the earlier accounts,

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[146]Edward Eggleston and Mrs. Lillie Eggleston Seelye, Pocahontas (New York: Dodd-Meade Co., 1879), pp. 303-04.

[147]Ibid., p. 304.

[148]Ibid., p. 305.

there are some reasons for believing it to be true.[149]

In the same year that the Eggleston-Seelye work appeared, two other comments about the popular appeal of the Pocahontas materials were presented. The first of these is to be found in the centenary edition of George Bancroft's History of the United States which by its deletion of the Pocahontas story reflects its author's opinion. Until the appearance of this edition, Bancroft had found a place for the rescue story in the narratives of his work, but at this point he abandoned its inclusion without expressing any judgment as to its historical validity or its lack of it. In the second instance one finds Moses Coit Tyler, in his History of American Literature, lamenting the fact that the "pretty story of Smith and his fair rescuer, as depicted in stone relief upon the capitol at Washington, should have lost historical credit."[150]

If the 1870's were fairly serene with regard to the controversy that Deane had begun by questioning the validity of Smith's telling of the Pocahontas story, the early eighties were to see the debate again reach a kind of white heat. The principal stoker of the furnaces in which were

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[149]Eggleston and Seelye, pp. 305-06.

[150]Moses Coit Tyler, History of American Literature (New York: George H. Putnam, 1878), p. 50.

rekindled the flames of controversy was Charles Dudley Warner, who wrote a life of Captain John Smith[151] which first appeared as a separate volume in 1881 and then became a part of volume six of Warner's Complete Writings, collected in 1904. To Smith's champions the whole tongue-in-cheek approach that Warner took to his subject was disgusting and irreverent, even though he avowed in his prefactory remarks his intention, "to state the truth and to disentangle the career of the adventurer (in so far as was possible) from the fables and misrepresentations that have clustered about it."[152] Warner further states that although the book is written in popular form, it makes a sincere effort to present the truth about Smith's adventures and to estimate his character fairly. The fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, which are devoted exclusively to "The Pocahontas Story," give what Warner feels is as complete an account of the Indian maiden's life as history makes possible. Throughout both chapters Warner is anxious to point out the inconsistencies in Smith's accounts and the disagreements that exist between Smith's presentations and those of his contemporaries in relating the Pocahontas story. Finally, as a summation of his treatment of the Pocahontas materials,

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[151]Charles Dudley Warner, Captain John Smith in The Complete Writings of Charles Dudley Warner, VI (1881; rpt. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 157-478.

[152]Warner, p. 187.

Warner points out that it is fortunate for her, though perhaps not for the colony,

> that her romantic career ended by an early death, so that she always remains in history in the bloom of her youth. She did not live to be pained by the contrast to which her eyes were opened, between her own and her adopted people, nor to learn what things could be done in the Christian name she loved, nor to see her husband in less honorable light than she left him, nor to be involved in any way in the frightful massacre of 1622. If she had remained in England after the novelty was over, she might have been subject to slights and mortifying neglect. The struggles of the fighting colony could have brought her little but pain. Dying when she did, she rounded out one of the prettiest romances of all history, and secured for her name the affection of a great nation, whose empire has spared little that belonged to her chilhood and race, except the remembrance of her friendship to those who destroyed her people.[153]

Even though the tine of this summation tends to present a rather positive picture of Pocahontas and to express a warmth of interest in her welfare, Warner cannot refrain throughout his work from innuendos which, although in many cases they carry the stamp of the humorist, are intended to denigrate the character of Smith, Pocahontas and Rolfe.

To a lesser degree than Warner's account, The English Colonies in America by Henry Cabot Lodge, which was also published in 1881 contains expressions of doubt about the veracity of Smith, the virtue of Pocahontas, and the honesty of Rolfe, but it was the work of Warner and that of the line of detractors that extended backward through the

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[153]Warner, pp. 417-18.

preceding two decades to Deane's first attack that triggered what has come to be described as the most eloquent of all the defenses of these early Virginians that appeared during the last forty years of the nineteenth century. At a meeting of the Virginia Historical Society which convened in February of 1882, William Wirt Henry delivered an address in which he strongly defended the truth of the Pocahontas story and answered point by point the major allegations that had been lodged against Smith's veracity.[154] Henry immediately takes Smith's detractors to task as he argued that, in the omission from A True Relation of the episodes which dealt with Smith's first being sentenced to die and then being rescued from execution of that sentence by Pocahontas's intervention in his behalf, the captain was merely following the Virginia Company's orders which forbade that any communication from the colony should include anything that would discourage further emigration to Virginia. This author is quick to make a point which he reiterates throughout his oration as he says in describing the roles of Smith and Pocahontas:

> Among the men who composed the colony are names conspicuous for intellect and public services; but the names most often mentioned in connection with the Virginia settlement; and which have excited the

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[154]William Wirt Henry, "The Settlement at Jamestown, With Particular Reference to the Late Attacks upon Captain Smith, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe," in Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society (Richmond: Pub. for the Society, February 24, 1882), pp. 10-62.

> greatest interest, are those of Captain John Smith, the preserver of the colony, and Pocahontas, the preserver of Smith, and the constant friend of the English.[155]

Having introduced the story of Smith and Pocahontas as it has remained "delightful to writers of history" for more than "two-hundred and fifty years," Henry then turns his attention to the recent attacks upon Smith by Deane, Adams, and Neill which have not only endeavored to destroy the character of Smith but that of Pocahontas and her husband, John Rolfe, as well.[156] Henry observes that, "persistent and fashionable though these onslaughts have been, the more generous task" of making a defense for these early Virginians will be his.

Following this declaration of purpose, Henry proceeds to consider the arguments offered by each of Smith's critics, and point by point he rather methodically pokes holes in their "theories" as he shows their sources of evidence to be fallacious by either pointing up the unrealiability of chroniclers like Wingfield and Strachey whom they have relied on as their sources or by impugning the selective methods of scholarship by which these writers have attempted to place his hero, Smith, in a bad light. Indeed, this author pulls no punches in an attack that is brilliant for its blend of eloquence, emotionalism, and

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[155]Henry, p. 11.

[156]Ibid., p. 12.

cool logic. He frequently places passages from Smith's earlier and later accounts concerning Pocahontas side by side and shows where the details of the rescue that appear in the Generall Historie have obviously been merely edited out of the earlier True Relation for reasons that have been mentioned above. And, Henry further argues that even if such rewriting had been done so as to make both of Smith's versions read smoothly without the evidence of obvious deletions that exists in the earlier records of his Virginia adventures, it would have been foolhardy for the captain to publish the rescue story in the Generall Historie when there were still so many of the colonist alive to discredit it. Not one of Smith's contemporaries who had shared his Virginia experience with him, Henry points out, chose to speak derisively of his telling of the Pocahontas story; therefore it must be true or his enemies would have made quick work of exposing him.[157]

If Henry's contentions in Smith's behalf can be described as convincing, no less can be said of his arguments on behalf of the character of Rolfe and the "Lady Rebecca." He predicates his whole defense of these early Jamestowners upon his ability to establish Smith's veracity, for if he is able to prove that all which Smith wrote about the rescue episode has a basis in fact, then the images that

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[157]Henry, pp. 41; 50-51.

Smith's writings project of Pocahontas as the "Nonpareil," of her people and of Rolfe as "an honorable Gentleman, and of good behaviour" will be equally believable. It was the image of Smith as the braggadocio, the romanticizer, and the liar that Henry had to lay to rest if he was to effectively answer those who had attacked this earliest of our colonial heroes, and this he so impressively did that few writers of factual prose during the remainder of the nineteenth century felt so free as had Deane and his immediate successors to level their critical onslaughts against the character of John Smith, Pocahontas, or her husband, John Rolfe.

Although the English historian John Andrew Doyle rejected the veracity of the rescue story in his English Colonies in America, which also appeared in 1882, he argues against those American writers who would censure Smith too stringently as he proposes that "Smith may well have approached the history of Virginia not as a sober annalist, but in the frame of mind in which Shakespeare dealt with the chronicles of England [or] in which Scott embellished the exploits and glorified the heroes of the Forty-five."[158] Writing some two years later, this same commentator, in an article which appeared in the October 4, 1884, issue of

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[158]John Andrew Doyle, English Colonies in America (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1882), p. 410.

Academy,[159] to some extent damned with faint praise the efforts of Edward Arber whose edition of Smith's Collected Writings had recently appeared, but when, in the same article, he comes to write of William Wirt Henry's "Address" he feels that "this monograph offers the best argument supporting the historical validity of the Pocahontas story that has been given."[160]

In 1883 Virginia, A History of the People by John Esten Cooke was published. This book assumes the form of a popular history, and in it Cooke not only relates and defends the story of Pocahontas's rescue of Captain Smith, but at times even goes beyond all previous presentations of this and other episodes concerning the Indian princess as he develops her story in great detail by drawing upon his fertile imagination for minute descriptive embroidery. For instance, he invents the following portrait of Pocahontas which he not only uses here but also employs later in his fictional treatment of the same materials:

> Her dress was a robe of doeskin lined with down from the breast of the wood pigeon, and she wore coral bracelets on wrists and ankles, and a white plume in her hair, the badge of royal blood. It must have been a very interesting woodland picture--the soldier with tanned face and sweeping mustache,

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[159]John Andrew Doyle, "Captain John Smith of Virginia," Academy, 26 (October 4, 1884), 211-12

[160]Ibid., p. 211.

> shaping trinkets for the small slip of Virginia royalty in her plumes and bracelets.[161]

Three items which deal with the Pocahontas story in one way or another and which were published in 1885 seem worthy of mention. The first of these, which appeared in The Art Journal that was issued in February of that year,[162] was signed by an author who only identified himself as H. Jones. This article, which bears the rather general title, "Pocahontas," is of interest only because it is representative of many similar efforts by hack writers to capitalize on the interest that the now twenty-five-year-old critical controversy over Smith and Pocahontas had generated. In truth, it consists of nothing more than a very unimagivative repetition of historical material very closely patterned after Smith's accounts. A second item which is of somewhat greater interest, if perhaps of no greater value, is a review of John Esten Cooke's recently published novel, My Lady Pocahontas, by W. F. Poole which appeared in the April 1885 issue of The Dial. Although much of what Poole has to say will be reserved for discussion of Cooke's novel in a later chapter, it is appropriate here to note that

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[161]John Esten Cooke, Virginia, A History of the People (1883; rpt. New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1903), p. 36.

[162]H. Jones, "Pocahontas," The Art Journal, 36 (1885), 299-302.

this author, in speaking of Cooke's History, remarks that in that work:

> he developed the Pocahontas story in all its primitive proportions. The book was readable, and, in the main, meritorious; but the part relating to the story of Pocahontas was unbecoming to a writer of history.[163]

Finally, one could hardly discuss the publications that had to do with the Indian princess which appeared in 1885 without noting a chapter commemorating Pocahontas which was included in a book entitled Queenly Women, Crowned and Uncrowned that was edited by S. W. Williams. The unknown author of the chapter which deals with our subject presents an overly sentimentalized portrait of his heroine and of the noble, but primitive, race from whence she sprang and in ending his essay reminds us that, "The tribe to which she belonged has perished. No memorials of their former power remain, and only a few names which they gave to the mountains and rivers endure."[164]

A unique and valuable genealogical study, Pocahontas and Her Descendants, appeared in 1887 under the joint authorship of Wyndham Robertson and R. A. Brock.[165]

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[163]W. F. Poole, "The Pocahontas Story," The Dial, 5 (April, 1885), 320.

[164]S. W. Williams, ed. Queenly Women, Crowned and Uncrowned (Chicago: Cranston and Stowe, 1885), p. 190.

[165]Wyndham Robertson and R. A. Brock, Pocahontas and Her Descendants (Richmond: Randolph and English, 1887).

Addressing their efforts, in the preface of the work, to "the narrow circle" of those truly interested in such matters, the authors turn their attention to presenting an unusual family tree which shows that for three generations there was but one child in descent at each level. After this time, however, their research shows that there were uniformly large families of which the boast is made that "not one member . . . was ever in prison or afflicted with insanity." And in summing up the attributes of Pocahontas's progeny, Robertson and Brock refer, by way of Bishop Meade's citation of the original source, to a passage extracted from the work of the Virginia historian Burk who in 1804 had observed that:

> The virtues of mildness and humanity, so eminently distinguished in Pocahontas, remain in the nature of an inheritance to her posterity. . . .There is scarcely a scion from this stock which has not been in the highest degree amiable and respectable,

and a few lines later he adds that he is:

> acquainted with several members of this family, who are intelligent and even eloquent, and if fortune keep pace with their merits, should not despair of attaining a conspicuous and even exalted station in the commonwealth.[166]

Having thus quoted Burk, Robertson and Brock accept Meade's

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[166]John Burk, History of Virginia as cited in Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, p. 190.

judgment that in John Randolph, Burk's prediction is verified.[167]

In the same year that Robertson and Brock's interesting study appeared, an equally interesting pamphlet describing Henry Beucher's imaginative painting, "The Marriage of Pocahontas," was written and released for publication by Benson John Lossing. In the face of the adverse treatments of Pocahontas's marriage to Rolfe following the publication of Strachey's Historie some four decades earlier, Lossing returns to a romantic vision of the union of "Master Rolfe, an honest gentleman, and of good behavior," and his bride "a princess royal named Matoa, or Pocahontas." Citing Dale's letter as his source, Lossing places the baptism of the Indian maiden prior to the marriage, and citing no writer who was a contemporary of the event as his source, he disagrees with those who have maintained that the Reverend Richard Buck was the minister who married the couple as he states that, "the officiating priest was Master Alexander Whitaker."[168] Lossing, drawing heavily upon his imagination for details in the same manner that Cooke had done when he composed his History of Virginia, describes, in a way that no previous writer has done, the details of the wedding ceremony:

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[167]Robertson and Brock, p. 159.

[168]Benson John Lossing, The Marriage of Pocahontas (London: n. pub., 1887), p. 2.

> It was a charming day in April in 1613, when Rolfe and Pocahontas stood at the marriage altar in the new and pretty chapel at Jamestown, where, not long before, the bride had received Christian baptism, and was named the Lady Rebecca. The sun had marched halfway up toward the meridian when a goodly company had assembled beneath the temple roof. The pleasant odor of the "pews of cedar" comingled with the fragrance of the wild flowers which decked the festoons of evergreens and sprays that hung over the "fair, broad windows," and the commandment tables above the chancel.[169]

Lossing continues much in the vein of an account of a wedding that one might read in the "society pages" of almost any newspaper as he imaginatively describes the Indian maid's appearance and bridal attire as follows:

> Pocahontas was dressed in a simple tunic . . . her arms were bare even to the shoulders; and, hanging loosely towards her feet, was a robe of rich stuff, presented by Sir Thomas Dale, and fancifully embroidered by herself and her maidens. A gaudy fillet encircled her head and held the plumage of birds and a veil of gauze, while her limbs were adorned with the simple jewelry of the native workshops.[170]

The other standard details of Pocahontas's life and ensuing death in England some four years after the wedding are also included in this pamphlet, but it is the fanciful account of the wedding ceremony itself that causes Lossing's treatment of the Pocahontas story to be a memorable one.

In 1889 Edward Eggleston's A First Book in American History, designed to be used as a textbook for children in the lower grades of elementary school, included a six-page

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[169]Lossing, pp. 4-5.

[170]Ibid, p. 5.

account of the story of Pocahontas. Eggleston's presentation here is parallel in almost every detail to the accounts one finds in Smith, and one must believe that he completely accepts the veracity of Smith's presentation. But it is interesting to note that when he comes to tell of Captain Argall's capture and detention of Pocahontas and of his attempt some years later to take the colony of Virginia in the name of Pocahontas's son, Thomas Rolfe, Eggleston refers to Argall as a "very dishonest man"[171] and whenever he mentions him he emphasizes this character's perfidy to a degree that we have not found in previous handling of early Virginia history.

At the outset of the last decade of the nineteenth century, there were rumblings of the earlier disenchantment that certain scholars had openly voiced with regard to the reliability of Smith's accounts. Indeed, one of these dissidents was none other than Smith's bitterest assailant of some two and a half decades earlier, the Reverend Edward D. Neill. In Captain John Smith, Adventurer and Romancer, which appeared in 1890, Neill offers an extremely derogatory view of the whole of Smith's claims with regard to his adventurous life. At one point he reiterates his earlier accusation that Smith was sent home not because

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[171]Edward Eggleston, A First Book of American History (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1889), p. 41.

of wounds but because of a misdemeanor resulting from his attempting to conspire with Powhatan to murder Francis West, Lord De La War's brother.[172] He also returns to his earlier onslaught on Smith's veracity by again comparing the earlier and the later versions of Smith's historical accounts and noting the differences to be found with regard to Pocahontas's absence from the former and presence in the latter. And finally, having pointed out that the eminent American historian J. Gorham Palfrey expresses doubts about Smith's veracity, Neill relents a bit in his attack as he suggests that it may be hack writers, and not Smith himself, who should be held accountable for those parts of the Generall Historie which are clearly untrue.[173]

Also in 1890 an even more pessimistic view of the credibility of Smith as a historian was offered by Alexander Brown in his anemic, but scholarly, collection of documentary evidence that was published under the title, The Genesis of the United States.[174] At every mention of Pocahontas by Smith in this collection, Brown seizes upon the occasion to deride the captain as a self-seeking, vain,

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[172]Edward D. Neill, Captain John Smith, Adventurer and Romancer in MaCallister College Contributions Department of Literature and Political Science, First Series, Number 11, (1890), p. 247.

[173]Ibid., pp. 247-49.

[174]Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States of America, II (1890; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1964), pp. 784-88.

opportunistic fellow who has, as an afterthought, created the Pocahontas episodes in an attempt to aggrandize himself. And in a comment appended to a copy of Smith's letter to Queen Anne in Pocahontas's behalf, Brown virulently suggests that:

> The letter was superfluous so far as the interests of Pocahontas were concerned, and the writer seems to be well aware of the fact, for although it is written ostensibly in her interest, it does not lose sight of the interest of Smith for a moment. Charles Dudley Warner well says, "Fortunate is the hero who links his name romantically with that of a woman." And this was Smith's forte; according to his account, "he was rescued and protected and felt reliefe from that sex in his greatest dangers," in nearly every quarter of the globe.[175]

In 1894 Marion Harland's interesting article "Pocahontas, Our Lady of the James" appeared in Cosmopolitan. Having depicted the Indian maid as "a queen in miniature" who came bringing aid to the starving settlers at Jamestown, Miss Harland (Mrs. Perhune) parts company with the conventional presentations of the Pocahontas story in the fact that she is extremely severe in her estimate of John Rolfe. In connection with Rolfe's letter in which he informs Sir Thomas Dale of his love for Pocahontas, this author calls Rolfe "a pious prig." Then, after quoting long passages from the letter in question to prove her points, she remarks:

> To this end had the brave, passionate, loyal dreamer come! In the perspective gained by two and

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[175]Brown, Genesis, II, p. 788.

> three quarters centuries, we easily trace the stages of the match-making. Rolfe, commonplace, sanctimonious and shrewd, on the lookout for a second wife and awake to the advantages of wedding a princess, even if she be a savage; the unsophisticated child of nature, with a head full of overwrought fancies, ready to believe every English cavalier a demi-god; the conscientious governor, keen alike for Christian neophytes, and for a respite from wars and rumors of wars, which a union between prominent representatives of the two races would bring about--it was a clever sum in the "rule of three," skillfully worked out that winter of 1612-1613.[176]

In Stories from Virginia History which appeared in 1897, Mary Tucker Magill caused the pendulum to swing back in favor of Smith although it tells only the basic facts of Pocahontas's acquaintance with John Smith and refers to the first case of Pocahontas's rescue of Smith only in passing as "a pretty story." On a basically factual framework, however, Miss Magill embroidered to some degree with imaginative details as may be seen in Powhatan's response to the bargaining of the English for the release of Pocahontas whom they held as a political prisoner. To their offers of conditions under which they will release her, the old chief responds:

> I have seen two generations of my people die; not a man of them is alive now except myself. I know the difference between peace and war better than any man in my country. I have now grown old and must soon die. Why will you take by force what you may have quietly by love? Why will you destroy us who supply you with food? What can you get by war? I am not so simple as not to know that it is

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[176]Marion Harland, "Pocahontas, Our Lady of the James," Cosmopolitan, 16 (1894), 314.

> much better to eat good meat, live quietly with my wives and children, and be merry with the English, than to run away from them and to be cold in the woods and feed on acorns, roots, and such truck, and to be so hunted that I can neither eat nor sleep. In these wars my people sit up watching and if a twig breaks they cry "Here comes Captain Smith!" So I must end my miserable life. Take away your guns and swords, the cause of all our jealousy, or you all die in the same manner.[177]

Writing in the same year as Miss Magill, John Fiske staunchly upholds the truth of the rescue story as it was first related by Smith and shows that it was not an exceptional occurrence but was according to Indian custom that such rescues took place. Undoubtedly Fiske's own words will be more convincing than a paraphrase:

> From the Indian point of view there was nothing romantic or extraordinary in such a rescue; it was simply a not uncommon matter of business. The romance with which white readers have always invested it is the outcome of a misconception no less complete than that which led the fair dames of London to make obeisance to the tawny Pocahontas as a princess of imperial lineage. Time and again it used to happen that when a prisoner was about to be slaughtered, some one of the dusky assemblage, moved by pity or admiration or some such unexplained freak, would interpose in behalf of the victim; and as a rule such interposition was heeded. Many a poor wretch, already tied to the fatal tree and benumbed with unspeakable terror while the firebrands were heating for his torment, has been rescued from the jaws of death, and adopted as a brother or lover by some laughing young squaw, or as a son by some grave wrinkled warrior. In such cases the newcomer was allowed entire freedom and treated like one of the tribe. As the blood debt was cancelled by the prisoner's violent death, it was also cancelled by securing his services to the

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[177]Mary Tucker Magill, Stories From Virginia History For the Young (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell and Co., 1897), pp. 33-34.

> tribe; and any member, old or young, had a right to demand the latter method as a substitute for the former. Pocahontas, therefore, did not "hazard the beating out of her own brains," though the rescued stranger, looking with civilized eyes, would naturally see it in that light. Her brains were perfectly safe. This thirteen-year-old squaw liked the handsome prisoner, claimed him, and got him according to custom.[178]

Fiske also believes that when Powhatan, two days after the rescue scene, disguised as a "veritable devil" went through the wildest sort of antics, he was simply adopting Smith as his son. Smith, of course--with his limited knowledge of the Indian language and of Indian customs--did not understand the sudden change in Powhatan's attitude which after that episode enabled him to exchange gifts with the savage potentate and to go back to Jamestown in state.[179]

A very noticeable variation from former historical accounts is to be found in Fiske's statement that the first Mrs. Rolfe did not die until "shortly after her arrival in Virginia."[180] From whence Fiske derived his information in this matter is not known. No record of Mrs. Rolfe's death has been left, and other historians seem to be generally agreed upon the supposition that the English girl who was

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[178]John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, I (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1897), pp. 109-10. Also see Barbour, Pocahontas, Chapter III, note 2, pp. 258-59.

[179]See Barbour, Pocahontas, pp. 24-25.

[180]Fiske, p. 169.

John Rolfe's first wife died in the Bermuda Islands as did the tiny daughter of Rolfe who was named Bermuda.

In 1898, about a year after Fiske's strong defense of Smith's veracity in the matter of his rescue by Pocahontas, Alexander Brown, in The First Republic in America, expressed grave doubts about the truth of what had by this time come to be widely referred to as "the Pocahontas legend" by those who would denigrate Smith's accounts. Although he observes that, "the incident is woven [by Smith] into a pretty, touching story," he thinks that "contending for it is like fiddling while Rome was burning."[181] "We should," Brown argues,

> have devoted our time rather to saving our earliest history from the smoke and flame with which it has for so long been obliterated. It is more important to rescue our foundation as a nation from the ideas conveyed by Smith than it is to contend over the saving of Smith.[182]

For a scholar who is so much at variance with Smith over the rescue account, Brown concurs to a surprising degree with the remainder of Smith's accounts of early Virginia history. He is at odds with Smith and most other historians, however, when he comes to write of the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, for he places their wedding date at April 15 rather than at either of the two more widely accepted dates

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[181]Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1898), p. 56.

[182]Ibid., pp. 56-57.

for that event--April first or April fifth. Brown also disagrees with the opinion that was current after Lossing's article concerning this marriage as he states that it was the Reverend Richard Buck--not Alexander Whitaker--who married the couple "according to the beautiful ritual of the Church of England."[183]

Henry T. Finck includes a brief essay entitled "The Story of Pocahontas" in his book, Primitive Love and Love Stories which was first published in 1899.[184] In this short piece Fiske's ideas about the rescue are quoted and reiterated in a manner that is close to plagiarism. It is thus to be expected that Finck's conclusions are merely reflective of Fiske's.

A very romantic, pro-Smith passage concerning the rescue scene, Pocahontas's other ministrations on behalf of the colonists, and her sojourn in England is to be found in Neal Brown's Critical Confessions and John Marshall and His Times[185] which also dates from 1899. Brown says of Smith that, "Posterity has made him the central figure of one heroic incident, forgetting his many-sidedness" as an

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[183]Brown, First Republic, p. 204.

[184]Henry T. Finck, "The Pocahontas Story," in Primitive Love and Love Stories (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), pp. 632-33.

[185]Neal Brown, Critical Confessions and John Marshall and His Times (Wassau, Wisc.: The Philosopher's Press, 1899).

adventurer and as a "man of letters."[186] Here Smith's omission of the Pocahontas incident in A True Relation is attributed to modesty, and the author strikes out at the "dry-as-dust antiquarian [who] has seen fit from this omission to throw doubt on the story."[187] The coming to light of the rescue incident in the letter addressed to Queen Anne in 1616, Neal Brown sees as an act taken by Smith lest he should be charged with ingratitude, and having so commented, he quotes the letter in its entirety. There are romantic overtones throughout Brown's account which suggest that Pocahontas looked at Captain Smith not as a father figure but as a lover; and all of this comes into a crystal-clear focus in the author's remark, after recounting the meeting in London between Pocahontas and Smith, which reads to the effect that "but for a chance estrangement, Smith would not have lived and died a bachelor."[188]

From these presentations our study of non-fictional prose treatments of the Pocahontas story, it is evident that the most interesting treatments of the Pocahontas materials which appeared between 1860 and 1900 were distinctly controversial in nature. There was not only the minor

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[186]Brown, Critical Confessions, p. 121.

[187]Ibid., p. 122.

[188]Ibid., p. 125.

controversy which arose over the marriage of the Indian princess to one of her own race prior to her marriage to Rolfe and which was precipitated by the publication of Strachey's account in 1849, but there was also a constant vacillation or wavering back and forth in support or denial of the rescue story as told by Smith. After Deane's disclosure in 1860 of his doubts in the matter of Smith's veracity, a majority of writers seemed to feel a responsibility to take a definite stand on one side or the other of the question. Although there is more argument and discussion concerning Smith, Pocahontas, and Rolfe during these four decades than there is ever likely to be again, no real conclusion of the matter was reached. For the authors are quite evenly divided on what really proved to be a moot question throughout the entire period. This segment of the treatments of the story begins, then, with the skepticism of Charles Deane and his adherents and closes with the strong support for Smith offered by John Fiske and his circle.

IV. Treatments Written to Accompany the Tercentenary Celebration

Although Alexander Brown's attitude as expressed in The First Republic in America concerning Smith's account of his rescue by Pocahontas is at least partially a negative one, it is significant to note that three of the last four

works that we have examined are very pro-Smith. This attitude of acceptance was to spill over into the new century and, along with the interest generated by the approaching celebration of the tercentenary of the first permanent English settlement in America at Jamestown, was to smooth out completely, or at least to suppress for a time all doubts about Smith's reliability as a historical writer. Typical of the presentations being written during the early years of the twentieth century are Katharine Pearson Woods' The True Story of John Smith (1901), E. P. Roberts' The Adventures of Captain John Smith, Captain of Two Hundred and Fifty Horse, and Sometimes President of Virginia (1902), and the same author's Captain John Smith (1904). The most striking features of these works are the facts that they are, for the most part, based upon Smith's own True Travels and the Generall Historie and that they make no reference at all to the pro-Smith or anti-Smith arguments that had been such a popular subject of critical discussions during the last four decades of the preceding century. It is also worthy of mention at this point that even Herbert L. Osgood's The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, which is mixed in its estimates of Smith, does not openly attack the veracity of the Pocahontas story as it appears in Smith's works, but simply ignores the fact of its existence by omission of any mention of the episode in his work.

One of the most glowing eulogies devoted to Smith as the "real founder and preserver of the Anglo-Saxon culture in America" and of Pocahontas as the "preserver of Smith" is to be found in a pamphlet entitled An Address Delivered Before The Daughters of the American Revolution at Their Congress Held in Washington, D.C. in April of 1905[189] by Mrs. A. A. Blow, Chairman of the John Smith Monument Committee of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Equally enthusiastic in their praise of Smith and Pocahontas were three works which appeared in 1906 on the very eve of the tricentennial celebration of Jamestown's settlement. The first of these, Heroes of Discovery in America, by Charles Morris,[190] who had written other works in the vein of popular history and criticism, such as Historical Tales and Half-Hours With American Authors, makes a glowing presentation of Smith and mildly rebukes those who would disbelieve "the most romantic of his adventures" simply because "he tells the story himself."[191] Having made this point Morris briefly recounts

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[189]Mrs. A. A. Blow, An Address Delivered Before the Daughters of the American Revolution at Their Congress Held in Washington D.C., in Virginia Miscellaneous Addresses, II (Richmond: n. pub., 1910), pp. 1-8.

[190]Charles Morris, "John Smith and the Exploration of the Chesapeake," in Heroes of Discovery in America (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1906), pp. 181-89.

[191]Ibid., p. 183.

this oft-told tale in details and language extracted directly from Smith's accounts, but he adds or embroiders appropriate touches to make his telling of the story even more romantic than Smith's.[192] The second of these items was an address, "Pocahontas and Other Colonial Dames," which was delivered by Robert S. Bright to the Seneca Chapter of the D.A.R. at Geneva, New York on February 22, 1906, and which was published in pamphlet form later in the same year. Bright traces the details of Pocahontas's life from 1607 to its conclusion in 1617 and pictures her always as the savior of "the nucleus of the greatest republic on earth." In this nostalgic piece, Bright's love of both the truth and the legend of the Smith-Pocahontas story is constantly driven home to his audience as he emphasizes those aspects of the noble savage which are to be found in this Indian princess. In this author's remarks one sees Pocahontas as if she were holding the scales of justice in balance between Smith--"the bold, resourceful soldier"--and Powhatan--"the crafty, dignified leader." At the highpoint of his speech, Bright says in presenting a most sympathetic description of these three characters:

> They (Smith and Powhatan) in their way inspire us with admiration; she inspires us with love. A child of nature, wild and unrestrained as the vines over her father's sylvan court, the birds and flowers were her friends and companions, but in her

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[192]Morris, p. 183-84.

> heart was a kindness and sympathy unknown and unfelt by many a royal princess.[193]

The last of the three items which appeared in 1906 that we will consider is an eleven-page pamphlet which, even though it is published by an organization calling itself The Pocahontas Memorial Association, promises much more than it delivers in terms of Pocahontas materials. This work is a mere proposal for a project which aims at raising funds for the construction of the Pocahontas monument which presently graces the Jamestown historical park which lies across an expanse of the James River from the original site of the Jamestown settlement. Although the presence of the monument attests to the success of the project, there is surprisingly little of the Pocahontas story contained in this pamphlet which bears no title and simply appears under the name of the association for which it was prepared.

While she in no way denies the authenticity of the rescue story as it was related by John Smith, Mittie Owen McDavid makes John Rolfe and not John Smith the hero of her work bearing the title Princess Pocahontas, which appeared in 1907. This author takes a very different view from the popular one as she states in the preface:

> It is a pity that one must bring John Smith into the story of Pocahontas at all, with all due respects to that courageous gentleman, for it

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[193]Robert S. Bright, Pocahontas and Other Colonial Dames: An Address Delivered at Geneva, New York, February 22, 1906 (n.p., 1906), p. 15.

> detracts from Pocahontas's loyalty to and romance with her own husband, John Rolfe.[194]

And she continues in this same vein:

> There are intelligent persons in America who have labored a lifetime under the belief that Pocahontas married Captain John Smith; and two-thirds of the school-children will affirm this belief when questioned. A great deal is due Captain John Rolfe, and he should be given just honor and prestige.[195]

With this approach to her subject, Miss McDavid proceeds to present what she thinks is the "true story" of Pocahontas--a presentation which mentions Smith at all the proper junctures but which makes much of Pocahontas as Mrs. John Rolfe. Having carried her theme along in this manner, one finds Miss McDavid reaching the romantic conclusion that has been obvious to the reader from the first page of her book as she finally sums up her argument by saying:

> Thus it is that the blood of the greatest Indian of America mingles with the proudest and best of the mother country . . . . The Rolfe name is good, clean and royal, but the name that made it famous is that of Pocahontas. Her name shines like a beacon-light adown the pages of history, illuminating the hard and rugged lines with a soft and gentle radiance.[196]

Also in 1907 Mrs. Roger Pryor published The Birth of the Nation, which presents a simple, straightforward account of the entire history of the early Virginia colony.

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[194]Mittie Owen McDavid, Princess Pocahontas (New York: The Neal Publishing Co., 1907), p. 7.

[195]Ibid.

[196]Ibid., p. 125.

Her style is charming, and on the whole, she seems to be very fair and unprejudiced in her interpretation of the history of her native state. One should, however, hardly expect of her, as a loyal Virginian, the rejection of the Smith story concerning Pocahontas's rescue of him or of his various depictions of the Indian maid as savior of the colony. Also in keeping with the typical Virginia attitude which discounts the Indian marriage of Pocahontas to Kocoum, Mrs. Pryor remarks that it would be as difficult for intelligent people to accept this union as a fact as it would be for them "to think of Joan of Arc as married."[197]

Less important contributions to the non-fiction prose treatments of the Pocahontas materials that graced the tercentenary year are to be found in a pair of periodical articles that were probably written with the celebration in mind. Lawrence J. Burpee's article on the "Adventures of Captain John Smith" which was published in The Dial gives the usual facts of the Pocahontas story as they were first related by Smith, and the author, rather defensive of his source, concludes:

> If Smith prevaricated, he prevaricated boldly. If he was nervous, it was not because of a guilty conscience but rather because he found a pen an unfamiliar weapon.[198]

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[197]Mrs. Roger Pryor, The Birth of the Nation: Jamestown 1607 (New York: Macmillan, 1907), p. 300.

[198]Lawrence J. Burpee, "Adventures of Captain John Smith," The Dial, 58 (1907), 165.

Kate Langley Bosher, on the other hand, makes no more than passing mention of either Smith or Pocahontas in an article concerned with "The Jamestown Commemoration, 1607-1907" which appeared in Outlook during the tercentenary year.

Finally, with two pamphlets, both of which bear promising titles but neither of which follows its title up with a very worthy performance, we will conclude our survey of the handling of the Pocahontas story by the writers of non-fiction prose during the first three hundred years of the story's existence. Catherine Randolph Sheets issued a pamphlet during the tercentenary year bearing the interest-inspiring title Love Will Find A Way, but on examining this little work, one finds that it is merely a hodgepodge of facts about the death of Pocahontas and about her progeny whom Mrs. Sheets sees as extensions of the "love" she bore the early inhabitants of the white settlement at Jamestown.[199] Not much more worthy of our attention is the effort of William L. Sheppard in The Princess Pocahontas, Her Story From Original Sources. Sheppard adds little to the standard accounts. Typical of the entire treatment, which is laudatory in a low-keyed sort of way, is its last sentence where Sheppard observes:

> But the name of the Virginia lady born, who kept life in the infant colony, from which sprang this

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[199]Catherine Randolph Sheets, Love Will Find A Way (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, 1907), p. 4.

> mighty nation, traverses three centuries, and today is a household word with the American people.[200]

Neither all of the histories, essays, biographies, nor all the children's books which contain treatments of early Virginia history nor even all of those dealing specifically with the relationships of Pocahontas to either John Smith on John Rolfe have been examined in the course of this chapter. But an ample number have been discussed and cited to give the reader a sense of the trends that have developed in the handling of the story. The story has been traced from a period of relative neglect during the last three-quarters of the seventeenth century, through a period of passive interest on the part of American writers during the late colonial period, through an enthusiastic revival of interest in the story during the early national period, and through four decades of critical controversy that occurred during the last forty years of the nineteenth century which led up to the tercentenary celebration of the settlement of Jamestown and to the non-fiction prose pieces that were composed in connection with that event. While the works that have been examined in this chapter were not primarily written with an eye to their literary excellence, they do have literary importance. For it is here that one finds the historiographical-historical basis for many of the

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[200]William L. Sheppard, The Princess Pocahontas, Her Story From Original Sources (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1907), pp. 16-17.

variety of creative interpretations and uses of the story and its characters as a basis of mythic-symbol. One can clearly see, for example, that when a historian begins to handle his material in the way that John Daly Burk treated the Pocahontas story, the time is ripe for novelists, dramatists, and poets to step in, take up the threads of the historian's romantic treatment, and exploit them to the limits of what creativeness can do with them. It will be the purpose of the ensuing chapters of this study to show that this is exactly what happened to the Pocahontas materials as the creative treatments that appear in each new era generally embroider upon the attitudes that have been assumed toward the material by some earlier non-fiction prose writer. Sometimes it is the fact that they parallel current scholarly attitudes so clearly and at others it is because they are so contrary to them that makes the literary treatments of this most popular of American legends so interesting. Whatever the case, it is with this in mind that the history is first consigned to the hands of the writers of prose fiction.

CHAPTER IV

PROSE-FICTIONAL ACCOUNTS OF THE POCAHONTAS STORY

In the previous chapters the route which the Pocahontas story has traveled throughout its first three hundred years in the hands of non-fictional prose writers has been traced. Non-fiction by its obvious definition should suggest strict adherence to the facts--a no nonsense sort of approach that yields a portrait of a person, or of an era, that is altered either not at all or very little from author to author because of its basis in documentable fact. With the Pocahontas story, however, such does not prove to be the case even when it is presented by usually reliable historians. At almost every juncture along the route of this investigation, there has been occasion to pause and to question the degree to which portions of fact and fancy have been combined by a particular author to fashion yet another variation on John Smith's original theme. Such considerations of this "pretty, romantic story" are not limited to Smith's successors but apply also to the original teller of the tale himself. Indeed, in the minds of many commentators, who freely accept the other segments of what is often referred to as the Pocahontas legend as having a basis in fact, Smith's most embroidered version of

the rescue story--if accepted at all--is suspected of being a fact-fancy hybrid. If it is a true story--they reason, it is almost too good a fiction to be true. For in it are all the elements of an excellent historical romance--the challenge of the uncharted wilderness; Smith's cavalier appearance and manner that are linked to his Renaissance appetite for exploration and deeds of derring-do; and the contrast of the "noble" and the ignoble savage that is presented as one observes Pocahontas--the innocent and magnanimous "child of nature"--against the backdrop of the brutal and unfeeling qualities of character that are exhibited by most members of the Powhatan nation. Add to these ingredients the dramatic quality of the rescue scene (albeit it comes too early in the story for a well-wrought plot structure) the growing--not quite definable--relationship between Pocahontas and Captain Smith, the generosity of the Indian princess in preserving the white settlement from starvation, Argall's kidnapping of Pocahontas, and the union of the red and white races as she becomes the bride of John Rolfe--and the rudiments of an almost perfect fictional romance are provided.

Is it any wonder, then, that the Pocahontas story was destined to become one of the most widely and variously treated bits of Americana--one of the basic matters of American romance? The genre which is employed seems to have little effect on the story's popular appeal. The quality

of sentimental and even symbolic romance seems always to be there whether the tale is told by a historian, a biographer, a novelist, or a poet. Of course, such persistent popularity of the narrative may be attributed in part to the fact that it represents a universal theme to which has been added the charm of an American setting. The central theme or story is certainly not a new one, for as Philip Young shows, it directly and precisely corresponds in "all its essential parts" to a myth that is to be found in the folk literature of many peoples:

> The tale of the adventurer, that is, who becomes the captive of the king of another country and another faith, and is rescued by his beautiful daughter, a princess who then gives up her land and her religion for his, is a story known to the popular literatures of many peoples for many centuries . . . . This figure is a woman who characteristically offers herself to a captive Christian knight, the prisoner of her father, rescues him, is converted to Christianity, and goes to his native land--These events usually being followed by combat between his compatriots and hers.[1]

Much of the sequence thus outlined above is contained in Smith's telling of the Pocahontas story, and even before the material was taken up by purely creative writers--novelists, dramatists, and poets--the filio-pietistic American historians and biographers who wrote during the last quarter of the eighteenth century had brought to the tale a great measure of national significance in which, as Jay B. Hubbell

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[1]Philip Young, "The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered," The Kenyon Review, 64 (1962), p. 409.

observes, "Like Aeneas, Smith is regarded as the founder of a new nation and the embodiment of Virginia qualities, the ideal Cavalier. Pocahontas's role (on the other hand) is that of protecting deity to the infant colony."[2] It is true that Professor Hubbell is speaking here of the efforts of fiction writers, but his comments are no less applicable in describing the efforts of such historians as Belknap, Robertson, and Burk. In considering the kinship between the elements of a popular fiction story and the events that are presented in the Pocahontas chronicle and in becoming aware of the national significance which the story of the Indian princess embodied, one wonders not at the great number of treatments which creative writers have given the material, but at the fact that its earliest handling by these authors was so long in coming.

As has been previously suggested, the route that the Pocahontas story traveled during the first three hundred years of its existence was from the first mention of the Indian princess in John Smith's A True Relation in 1608 through the ensuing works composed by Smith and subsequent histories until it reached the beginning of the nineteenth century. At this juncture the material

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[2]Jay B. Hubbell, Virginia Life in Fiction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), p. 41. For comments on Smith and Pocahontas as prototypes of the Virginia gentleman and of the plantation belle, also see: Richard Beale Davis, "The Virginia Novel Before Swallow Barn," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 71 (1963), 278-293.

was given its first creative treatment in the works of the traveler-poet-novelist, John Davis. After Davis there followed a steady stream of dramatists, poets, and novelists who seized upon the material with gusto, but this is not to say that the new narrative subsequently was always imitative of Davis or that each new treatment grew out of its most recent predecessor. In fact, it is not unusual for an author who is treating the Pocahontas theme to defend with pride his particular contribution as being most clearly derived from the original accounts of John Smith. It is as if they, by claiming that they had adhered strictly to A True Relation and the Generall Historie, hoped to defend their texts against historical question. And yet, in the very face of such claims, these authors, almost without fail, invoked their authorial license and treated the material as they saw fit. This is as it should be. A few of these creative accounts, it is true, related the life of Pocahontas and the vicissitudes in the affairs of the colony rather slavishly; some, while adhering to the proper chronological sequence of the events in the story, selected the episodes with an eye to dramatic effect; others--the most creative of the lot--made free with the narrative as they rearranged and embellished the episodes in a climactic order which they felt would provide the story with a greater degree of suspense and interest. Fortunately, most of the writers who have attempted creative treatments of the story

have avoided the impression of a mere presentation of historical detail. Instead they have interwoven bits of fact and fancy; have injected into the story their own deep feelings, emotions, and subjective reactions; have improved the original style of Smith's narratives into lines both more vivid and more dramatic; and have idealized the story's characters and situations in such a way as to cast an alluring, romantic glow over their presentation.

In his several presentations of the story, John Davis was the first author to employ the Pocahontas theme as the basis for purely belletristic literature. Indeed his achievement in telling and retelling the tale is so impressive that it has been dubbed "the most energetic exploitation of the Indian" that appeared during the first two decades of the nineteenth century."[3] It is Davis, then, who marks the dividing line between non-fiction and fiction prose with regard to the handling of the Pocahontas materials. Before looking at Davis's contribution, however, brief consideration must be given to a force that had been exerting itself in shaping the white man's concept of the American Indian since Columbus first encountered those bronze-skinned natives. This force--a combination of the philosophy of primitivism and the concept of the noble savage--had gained an ever-increasing impetus in England,

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[3]Lillie Deming Loshe, The Early American Novel, 1789-1830 (1907; rpt. New York: Frederick Unger, 1958), p. 74.

France, and America with the greater vogue of romantic attitude during the eighteenth century. It was partially focused on the unspoiled "child of nature" who existed in an Eden-like, primitive state. The depiction of Pocahontas as a creature possessing qualities which were aptly representative of the noble savage is as old as Smith's first description of her as being a child of ten, "which, not only for features, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth the rest of his (Powhatan's) people: but for wit and spirit, [is] the only Nonpareil of his country."[4] This picture, through the works of Davis and others, was given a new emphasis which aimed at bringing an ever greater human appeal to their subject. For a time this strategy was successful, though in the last half of the nineteenth century the depiction of the Indian as a noble savage lost some of its vogue, and in the hands of some writers the image of the "noble" Pocahontas was to become a subject of mild ridicule and burlesque. The novelists, however, were mostly adamant in clinging to the positive image of the Indian girl.

Even though a thorough examination of the several tenets of the philosophy of primitivism and of all of the ramifications of that system of thought are beyond the

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[4]Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, ed. Edward Arber. A new edition with biography and introduction by A. G. Bradley (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), p. 38. Hereafter Smith, Works.

scope of the present study, brief attention must be given to its most basic premises in the light of their impact on treatments given the Pocahontas materials by creative writers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the risk of oversimplification, one might say that those who provided the greatest support for this philosophical stance contended that primitive man in his natural or savage state was generally more noble than his more civilized, but degenerate, descendants. In her extremely perceptive summary of the basic principles of primitivistic philosophy, Professor Lois Whitney suggests that it argued in favor of the superiority of primitive man whom it saw as naturally good; it instructed men to assume as their standard of excellence the first stages of society before the "noble savage" had been corrupted by civilization; it extolled simplicity and denigrated the value of complexity in every phase of man's experience; and it taught a reliance upon a system of ethics based upon the natural affections rather than a system of values which was built upon intellectualistic foundations.[5] Even more revealing in this matter are the remarks of Arthur O. Lovejoy in his Foreword to Professor Whitney's study which assert that the the philosophy of primitivism that was so much in vogue

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[5]Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934), pp. 1-7.

during the eighteenth century was based upon

> . . . the conviction that the time--whatever time may, for a given writer, be in question--is out of joint; that what is wrong with it is due to an abnormal complexity and sophistication in the life of civilized man, to the pathological multiplicity and emulativeness of his desires and the oppressive overabundance of his belongings, and the factitiousness and want of inner spontaneity of his emotions; that "art," the work of man, has corrupted "nature," that is, man's own nature; and that the model of the normal individual life and the normal social order, or at least a nearer approximation to it, is to be found among contemporwry "savage" peoples, whether or not it be supposed to have been realized also in the life of primitive men.[6]

Finally, no attempt, however abbreviated, to discuss the tenets of primitivism and the concept of the "noble savage" that was the very basis of that philosophy could be concluded without examining the opinions of H. N. Fairchild concerning these matters. In defining the subject of his study, this author says, "To me, a Noble Savage is any free and wild being who draws directly from nature virtues which raise doubt as to the value of civilization."[7] In other introductory remarks that are devoted to tracing the origins of the noble savage concept, Fairchild further explains that it results from an intermingling of three elements: (1) the observations of explorers; (2) various classical and medieval conventions;

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[6]Whitney, p. xiv.

[7]Hoxie Neal Fairchild, The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 2.

and (3) the deductions of philosophers and men of letters.[8] After an extended discussion which relates to the manner in which this fusion came about, Professor Fairchild concludes:

> that the Noble Savage is the creation of a philosopher, who, reacting from contemporary glorification of culture, takes from the explorers a picture of a savage virtuous being, which becomes associated in his mind with long-current traditions of a corroborative nature, and draws from this material a conclusion casting discredit upon the accomplishments of human intellect.[9]

With the tenets of primitivism enjoying such popular favor as they did during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, it is not surprising that several creative writers devoted their talents to the treatment of the glorified Indian, and the character of Pocahontas with all of its positive qualities afforded them ample opportunities in this direction. It may be, as at least one commentator has said,[10] that both John Smith and John Davis partially ignored the romantic "noble savage" concept as, with an eye toward realism, they depicted both the noble and the ignoble qualities in the savages they drew; but when either author turned his hand to a portrait of the Indian princess, Pocahontas, her nobility--by contrast to the brutality of her fellows--was all the more noble. Hence the

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[8]Fairchild, p. 2.

[9]Ibid., p. 22.

[10]Barbara Butler Ruf, "John Davis: Poet, Novelist, and Traveler," Diss. University of Tennessee, 1974, pp. 267-70.

direct inference of the noble savage concept--the conviction that the most noble person in a list of characters, both white and red, may be one of the savages of the lot--is addressed by both of these writers.

To a greater or lesser degree, the remarks concerning the evidences of primitivism in the prose fictional treatments of the Pocahontas story are applicable to the handling of the theme in drama and poetry which will be the subject of ensuing chapters. In each of these segments of the study many of the evidences of the impact of primitivism which have been enumerated above will be pointed out as reflections of the noble savage idea at work. In a study of contrasts, it will be demonstrated that the "ignoble" savage, who certainly appears in these creative treatments of the Pocahontas materials, has been overshadowed by the praise heaped not only upon Pocahontas but upon the Indian in general for his physical attractiveness; for his moral qualities of nobility, courage, honesty, stoicism, truth, and goodness; for his tender attributes of mercy, sympathy, and love; for his courtesy of speech and power of oratory; for his simple modes of living; for his appreciation of his natural environment--all of which qualities and conditions are the product of the primitive culture in which he exists. Strictly speaking, then, any work which treats the true Pocahontas theme--which treats favorably her rescue of

John Smith and her many other acts of mercy toward the colonists--could be declared to be an illustration of primitivism and the concept of the noble savage. At every turn, one finds a Pocahontas who is truly a "child of Nature," whose superior qualities are the result of the culture that gave her birth and nurtured her so as to make of her what she was at the time that she first met Captain Smith. Here, however, only the most telling of those bits of evidence which reveal her as a "noble savage" can be examined.

John Davis, the first writer to handle the Pocahontas story in a way that would give it the popular appeal of prose-fiction, was born at Salisbury, Wiltshire, England, in 1774. If one can accept as valid the autobiographical passages concerning his early life that are interspersed throughout his various works, the parallels between his boyhood and that of Captain John Smith are truly amazing. Like Smith, Davis was the product of a somewhat affluent, middle-class family. Both boys were also natives of English cathedral towns, and hence both probably received the sound basic education that was available to persons of their station who lived in such communities. In later years, however, each of them--in trying to make of himself a more romantic figure--attempted to project a picture of a lad with little formal training who became a self-educated, self-made man. In his middle

teens Davis, again following the pattern which Smith had earlier followed, turned to a life at sea in quest of high adventure. Indeed, Smith--the daring explorer, the insatiable traveler, the tireless recorder of his own adventures, the man who came to grips with the controversies of which he was often the center and triumphed over them, the man of action as well as the man of letters--was cast in the mold that Davis most desired to fit. With adventures in the orient and a term of service in the British navy behind him, Davis sailed from Bristol in January of 1798 with America as his destination. At the age of twenty-two he arrived in the the United States at the port of New York. At once he became constantly busy in a search for advantages that could be his in this relatively young republic. He was "a sailor with a literary sense and equipment, [who was] resolved after a dozen years at sea to make literature a profession."[11] How he intended to make his American experience play a part in fulfilling that resolve is demonstrated as he writes to a new-found American friend, Joseph Dennie, that he had crossed the Atlantic "with the view of traveling through North America and publishing on

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[11]John Davis, Travels of Four and a Half Years in the United States of America, ed. A. J. Morrison (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909), p. iv.

my return results of observations."[12] He had judged with perception that the cultural and topographical milieu of this infant nation offered a myriad of untapped resources for the would-be literary man to exploit. Soon after his arrival he began to establish important contacts with American publishers, booksellers, and magazine editors such as Hocquet Caritat in New York and Joseph Dennie in Philadelphia, and then he set out on a walking tour that would provide him with American subjects.[13] These "travels" lasted for some four and one half years--from 1798-1802--and form the basis of Davis's most successful literary effort. While its general contribution to the vogue of the travel book is interesting, the three most memorable segments in this record of Davis's first American adventures include a widely debated legend concerning the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as president,[14] the story of "Dick the Negro," and perhaps most impressive of all, his interstitial

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[12]Davis's Letter to Joseph Dennie, July 20, 1799, as cited in Thelma L. Kellogg, The Life and Works of John Davis (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1924), p. 22.

[13]Morrison "Introduction," to Davis's Travels, pp. v-viii.

[14]For comment on the historical validity of Davis's anecdote which has to do with the unpretentious manner in which Jefferson arrived at this ceremony--dressed rather informally, riding his own horse, and without any entourage such as those that would have accompanied an English king to his coronation--see Morrison's "Introduction" to Davis's Travels.

fabric of fact and fancy which fashioned a sentimental romance from the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe story which he seemed never to tire of retelling in only slightly altered language.

Davis's first presentation of the Pocahontas theme appears in Farmer of New Jersey, a novelette which was published by Caritat in 1800. The story as it is told in this work scarcely occupies a single page of a rather small book,[15] but more important than its brevity is the quality of the story which Davis allows Harry, the son of Colonel Brandywine's host, to tell at a Christmas party. When called upon for a story, the lad responds that he will tell "a story of Pocahuntas, an Indian Queen." What follows this announcement is a badly garbled version of Smith's original story. The captain's station is lowered from that of a cavalier to that of a tradesman who "bartered his goods with the Indians." Also, at one juncture where the host's son pauses in the progress of his story, it is suggested by Colonel Brandywine that Pocahontas is a squaw, but this mistake is immediately rectified by Harry's reiteration of the fact that she is an "Indian Queen." And another deviation from the standard accounts occurs when Smith's executioners prepare to burn him at the stake rather than cudgel him to death. But at the moment of truth in the

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[15]Ruf, p. 238.

story--the point of the actual rescue--Davis has his narrator rise to the occasion with the same kind of dramatic flourish that this act has always inspired:

> But just as the fire was kindled, Pocahuntas [sic], the youngest and darling daughter of the king, threw her arms around the prisoner and declared that unless he was pardoned she would be burnt with him. The tears of innocence will prevail when the voice of humanity is unheard. Powhatan could not resist the tears and entreaties of his child. His savage breast relented, and he revoked the sentence of captain Smith.[16]

At this point, as Harry's narration of it ends, the degree of the story's impact on the lad's audience is reflected in Colonel Brandywine's jovial response, "Bravissimo! . . .Here is a health to the descendants of the tender Pocahuntas."[17] For whatever reasons the changes were made in the version of the story that Davis first presented, these alterations are indicative of the later creative treatments of the story that were to be done by this author and by others. It is true that in no later version that Davis wrote did he so alter Smith's original presentation of the story. But while using Smith's accounts more faithfully in his later treatments as a source for basic facts or as a basis of inferences upon which to build the line of his story's development, he embroiders freely with the addition of picturesque details and the insertion of much comment in a

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[16]John Davis, Farmer of New Jersey (New York: H. Caritat, 1800), p. 11.

[17]Ibid.

euphuistic style and the resulting narratives make Smith's most romantic accounts appear plain by contrast.

The next handling of the Pocahontas story by John Davis is to be found in what is probably the best--and is certainly the most widely remembered--of this author's literary efforts, Travels of Four and A Half Years in the United States of America,[18] which appeared in 1803. In this work the earlier one-page version of the story has grown into a thirty-seven page segment, and with this enlargement has come a correction of the factual inaccuracies that were found in the earlier version and an amplification of details--part factual, part fictional. Of course, this extended treatment of the theme reveals a Davis who is much more indebted to other writers for his material. But, although it is more clearly derivative, there is a certain unique artistic approach in this handling of the material that makes it read like a fairly well-written short story. This is the first treatment of the Pocahontas theme that clearly bears the stamp of the creative writer rather than that of the historian, and for that reason it behooves one to pause at this juncture to analyze carefully Davis's handling of this material.

The point of departure from which Davis plunges into the story of Pocahontas and of her encounters with both

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[18]All references to this work will be to the Morrison edition and will be cited as Davis, Travels.

John Smith and John Rolfe--each of these relationships forming the basis of a love interest in the story--is an incident witnessed by the author which occurred near Occoquan, Virginia, where the narrator was employed as a tutor. A party composed of an elderly chief, twelve Indian warriors, and two squaws--of whom the old chief and the comeliest of the young squaws remind Davis of Powhatan and Pocahontas--leaves the main road and comes to Occoquan to pay their respects to a dead brave whose grave is marked by a pile of stones. After much ceremony and oratory over the dead warrior's grave, the noble picture gives away to an ignoble one as whiskey is passed around among the young braves by the old chief and a scene of wild intoxication follows. Davis then gives a disquisition on Indian manners, morals, and modes of life which leads him to his second, and perhaps best, presentation of the Pocahontas story.

At the outset of the story, the author depicts the arrival of Smith's ship in Chesapeake Bay and loses no time in projecting an image of this English captain as the chosen leader of the settlers who "by his judgment, courage, and industry, . . . saved the new establishment." Having made this point, Davis then turns his attention to Smith's first adventure, which involves leading an expedition up the Chickahominy River to explore the territory and to trade with the Indians. This venture is related in such detail that one-third of the space devoted to the story has been

consumed before Smith--having been captured only after courageous resistance and paraded as a prisoner on display throughout the countryside--is brought before Powhatan. Smith--as in non-fictional, contemporary accounts--is condemned to death but is saved at the fateful moment by the dramatic intervention of Pocahontas, who, like the other females at the court of Powhatan, is captivated by the English captain's physical attractiveness. A few days after his reprieve, Smith returns to Jamestown after a seven-week absence to find the settlement in turmoil. His prudent management, however, soon restores order. The wants of the colonists are also abated when Pocahontas arrives with desperately needed supplies of Indian grain. Although the settlers are famished, they seem to be almost equally attracted by the precious grain and by the person who is the instrument of their relief, for Davis tells his audience that:

> The Colonists flocked with eager curiosity to behold an Indian girl, who had saved by her interposition the life of their Chief. . . .[19]

In the wake of such curiosity the reader is further told that:

> The acclamations of the crowd affected to tears the sensibility of Pocahontas; but her native modesty was abashed; and it was with delight that she obeyed the invitation of Captain Smith to wander with him, remote from vulgar curiosity, along the banks of the river. It was then she gave loose to

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[19]Davis, Travels, p. 302.

> all the tumultuous ecstasy of love; hanging on his arm, and weeping with an eloquence more powerful than words.[20]

Here Davis presents the first of several really basic deviations from the account of the story that is found in Smith's works. Affection between the princess and the English captain is certainly suggested by the earliest versions of the story, but it is always found in a father-daughter or brother-sister sort of relationship. Although he mentions that he has been accused of wanting to marry her, nowhere does Smith suggest an attachment between himself and Powhatan's daughter that could be construed to present evidence of romantic love. Davis, on the other hand, not only suggests it; he emphasizes it in the character of the Indian princess which he develops. He tells his reader that, "the breast of Pocahontas cherished the deepest affection for Smith," but that, "she could not collect resolution to tell . . . her love" to the English captain who, "like a true soldier." adamantly avoided any romantic entanglement with her and who "though he ventured her endearments never dropped the slightest hint of marriage."[21]

Although he is shown to be above reproach in most matters, Smith--as Davis depicts him--is devious as he

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[20]Davis, Travels, p. 302.

[21]Ibid., p. 303.

takes advantage of the love that Pocahontas feels for him. From the point of the rescue scene, Smith had been aware of the infatuation which inhabited the breast of the young princess, a feeling which he cultivated in the interest of good relations between the colonists and the Indians. Now that the "ardor" of the Indian girl was becoming too warm to suit his taste and being "averse to any solemn engagement with Pocahontas . . . Smith devised an expedient . . . to cure her of her passion. He embarked privately for England and enjoined the Colonists . . . to represent that he was dead."[22] There is no record of any such scheme in Smith's accounts, but Davis adroitly fashions this episode using as its basis only Smith's record of Pocahontas's statement to the captain during their last meeting in England: "They did tell us alwaies you were dead. . . ."[23] To get back to the major deviations in Davis's version of the story, however, this proposed ruse is carried out as a colonist:

> pretending to show the afflicted girl the grave of Captain Smith, [recounted] the tender rememberance he expressed for her in his dying moments, and the hope he fondly indulged to meet her in the world of spirits.[24]

And the author comments:

> Love is ever credulous; but Pocahontas listened to this artful tale with catholic faith; She

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[22]Davis, Travels, p. 306.

[23]John Smith, Generall Historie,

[24]Davis, Travels, p. 307.

> prostrated herself on the pretended grave, beat her bosom, and uttered the most piercing cries.[25]

At this point--with her beloved captain assumed dead--John Rolfe now actively enters Pocahontas's life. The Rolfe to whom one is introduced here is "young, brave, [and] generous" just as he is in Smith's accounts, but Davis adds that he is "impetuous of passions" and supplies us an even stronger portrait of romantic impetuosity as he projects a Rolfe who has been "driven to the shores of the New World . . . by an affair of honour with a superior officer." With extreme sensibility and with feelings that are "ever tremblingly alive" Rolfe has loved Pocahontas from afar, while she loved Captain Smith, and has wandered about dejectedly composing love plaints over the hopelessness of his situation. These sentimental poems--three of which Davis inserts into the text of his story and fictitiously attributes to Rolfe--lead to the second climactic scene in this presentation of the Pocahontas story:

> It was during one of these nights, when Mr. Rolfe was sitting woebegone under an oak, sighing and groaning, and coupling love and dove, that a foot wandering among the trees disturbed his profound thoughts. It was too light to belong to a man, and his prophetic soul told him it was the step of Pocahontas. He stole to the spot. It was SHE! It was Pocahontas strewing flowers over the imaginary grave of Captain Smith. Overcome with terror and surprise, to be thus discovered by a stranger, the powers of life were suspended, and she sunk into the arms of Rolfe. For what rapturous moments is a lover often indebted to accident! The impassioned

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[25]Davis, Travels, p. 307.

> youth clasped the Indian Maid to his beating heart; and drank from her lips the poison of delight. The breast of woman is, perhaps, never more susceptible to a new passion than when it is agitated by the remains of a former one. When Pocahontas recovered from her confusion, a blush burnt on her cheek to find herself in the arms of a man; but when Rolfe threw himself before her on his knees, and clasping his hands to the moon, discovered the emotions that had so long filled his breast, the afflicted girl suffered him to wipe the tears from her eyes that overflowed with sorrow, and no longer repulsed the ardour of his caresses. The day was now breaking on the summits of the mountains in the East, the song of the mocking-bird was become faint, and the cry of the Muckawiss [Whippoorwill] was heard only at long intervals. Pocahontas urged to go; but Rolfe still breathed in her ear the music of his vows as he held her in his arms, or still rioted in the draught of intoxication from her lips. The sun had appeared above the mountains when Pocahontas returned through the woods.[26]

Here then is Davis's major contribution to the Pocahontas legend, for in none of the accounts that were composed either by Smith or his contemporaries does one find a Rolfe with such ardor or a Pocahontas with such a willingness to be wooed.

Following this imaginatively embroidered scene, which is purely the product of his fancy, Davis returns to his sources and follows them rather scrupulously as he speaks of the kidnapping of the princess by Captain Argall and traces the increasing susceptibility of the captive to the suit of John Rolfe until she agrees to become Lady Rolfe and thus to consumate a union that is seen by all as being beneficial to the white man and Indian alike. When these

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[26]Davis, Travels, pp. 311-13.

two were married:

> Rolfe was now happy in the arms of Pocahontas; nor did satiety necessarily follow from fruition. The Indian bride discovered in every question an eagerness of knowledge; and the elegant attainments of her husband enabled him to cultivate the wild paradise of her mind. Rolfe found in Pocahontas that companion of his solitude for which he had so long sighed; and as she reclined her head on his shoulder before the door, and either made interrogation respecting Europe, or exchanged with him the glance of intelligence and affection his eyes sparkled with fondness and he caught her with transport to his breast.[27]

After this depiction of the state of wedded bliss, only a few brief scenes remain in Davis's presentation of this version of the Pocahontas story. These trace in rapid succession the Rolfe family's journey to England, Pocahontas's last meeting with Captain Smith, her successful appearance at the English court, and her death and interment at Gravesend on the eve of her departure on the return trip to Virginia.

This is certainly Davis's most interesting presentation of the story of Pocahontas. But what he tells here is less important than how he tells it. By arranging effectively what he did use from the original sources, adding original touches and inventions, and coloring the whole narrative with the products of his fertile imagination and his emotional reactions to the setting, the characters, and the situations, this author produced a work whose

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[27]Davis, Travels, p. 316.

romantic appeal was seldom equaled in subsequent handlings of the theme.

This is not to say that with the Travels Davis was through with the Pocahontas story, for his interest in these materials also led him to offer his readers two other versions. The first of these appeared as Captain Smith and the Princess Pocahontas: An Indian Tale, a novelette which was published in 1805, and the second in The First Settlers of Virginia, which was also published later in the same year and which described itself in its full title as being "an historical novel." Although each of these efforts represents a real attempt on Davis's part to improve upon his earlier versions of the story, with each extention of the length of the narrative the author moves away from the unity of action and tone that had served to make the shorter presentation of the story which appeared in the Travels effective. Examination of the alteration of its predecessor which Davis incorporated into each new treatment of the story clearly reveals how in each case he gives up unity for the sake of embellishment. By the addition of geographical detail and by the inclusion of an ever greater number of incidents based upon historical events, he attempts to increase the historical impact of each new version of the tale. Ironically, however, with this move in the direction of an emphasis on historical minutia, he decreases the historical focus of his work; for he

increasingly places the two romantic love stories--that of Pocahontas's passion for Smith and that of Rolfe's love for Pocahontas--center stage. This plays down the importance of the "founding of the colony" theme which previously had been the story's main reason for being. Also in these padded versions the dramatic impact of the shorter presentation of the story is frequently sacrificed, since the episodes involving Pocahontas are moved farther and farther apart by the intervening chunks of factual detail. Indeed, in the last of these versions the two climactic scenes--the rescue of Smith and Rolfe's passionate declaration of his love for Pocahontas as she weeps over what she imagines to be Smith's grave--are so distant from one another that the reader is somewhat hard put to make the connection if he is not already thoroughly familiar with the story. What Davis does, then--in each of his attempts to enlarge upon the historical authenticity of his material--is to tamper with that which he might better have left alone. The result in each case is a less exciting and more pedantic piece which is inferior to the short-story-like version that one finds in the Travels.

In several ways the various treatments of the Pocahontas theme which were done by Davis show him to be a glorifier of the Indian and a demonstrator of the philosophy of primitivism. Certainly he is not blind to the infirmities of these savage people, and he constantly

depicts both the good and the bad Indian for his reader. What is most significant, however, is the fact that the most noble character in each of his presentations of the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe story is the Indian girl, Pocahontas. His always exalted treatment of her character is sufficient evidence in itself to stamp Davis as a constant, one might even say immoderate, advocate of the "noble savage" idea. He eternally projects the immage of an Indian girl who is beautiful, dignified, high-minded, and generous. Even further evidence of this attitude toward the red man is to be found in passages which serve as a kind of appendage to the Pocahontas story in the Travels. Here Davis elaborates upon the virtues and other positive qualities of the North American aborigines which show them to be the very essence of the "noble savage" which Professor Fairchild was to summarize later. These savages, with their "eloquence" of speech and their nobility of action, are compared favorably by Davis to the most noble "Roman and Latian leaders."

John Davis, then, in his various imaginative treatments of the Pocahontas materials, performed a very basic service in the development of this theme in American literature. His efforts illustrated, generally speaking, the use that could be made of American subjects and settings by creative writers; but more than this, he did three very important things in behalf of the Pocahontas story: (1) he uncovered it; (2) he popularized and perpetuated it; and

(3) he romanticized it and made historical fiction of it and in so doing laid the foundation for other creative treatments of this theme which were to follow.

After the last of Davis's treatments of the Pocahontas material had appeared in an American edition of Captain Smith and Pocahontas which was published in 1817, almost two decades were to elapse before the romantic story of the Indian maid's rescue of John Smith was to make its impact felt in a fiction-prose work written by an American author. The work was Cavaliers of Virginia, or the Recluse of Jamestown. An Historical Romance of the Old Dominion; the author was Dr. William Alexander Caruthers; and the year was 1834. The names of the principals in the story, as Caruthers writes it, are not John Smith and Pocahontas, but are another historical character, Nathaniel Bacon--of Bacon's rebellion fame--and Wyanokee, a petite aboriginal beauty who is daughter of King Fisher, chief of the Chickahominies. Although the main characters bear different names and the action occurs in a different place and at a different time, there is a rescue scene in this novel by Caruthers that is seen by at least one commentator as being closely related to its predecessor in Smith's Generall Historie.

At the outset of the episode in question, Bacon has been captured by the Chickahominies, tied to a stake, subjected to the most savage of tortures, and is on the

verge of being put to death. (Note the extreme savagery of this scene when it is compared to any of Smith's accounts of his rescue by Pocahontas.) But the hero does not die. Like Smith, he is reprieved at the last possible moment as, "a piercing scream [rends] the air, and all tongues [become] mute, all hands suspended." Over to the right of the encampment stands an isolated hut which is larger and more regal than the rest. "In a few moments, the rude door [is] thrust aside and an Indian female [Wyanokee] of exquisite proportions [rushes] to the scene of buchery, and [throws] herself between the half-immolated victim and his blood-thirsty tormentors."[28] As Caruthers further describes it:

> She placed herself before the captive, and elevating her person to its utmost height, and extending her arms before him as a protection, she cried, "Strike your tomahawks here, into the daughter of your chief, of him who led you on to battle and to victory, but harm not the defenceless [sic] stranger."[29]

What follows here is, as in Smith's rescue story, a heated session of the men of the tribe during which they decide to release their prisoner upon Wyanokee's assertion that she will be his wife. This is shown to be in accordance with Indian custom, or law as Caruthers calls it.

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[28]William Alexander Caruthers, The Cavaliers of Virginia, or the Recluse of Jamestown, II (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1834), p. 16.

[29]Ibid., p. 18.

In writing of this episode in his excellent critical biography of Caruthers, Curtis C. Davis points out that Wyanokee's act is not her own but is merely "giving a return engagement, here, to a bit of drama which has become one of our few notable literary legends"[30]--the Pocahontas story. After briefly tracing the story from its origin in the works of Smith through the earlier fictional treatments by an English authoress named Unca Eliza Winkfield in an adventure tale entitled The Female American and by John Davis, this author offers Caruthers as the writer who holds the "no. 3 priority" among those who introduced "Pocahontas-Wyanokee to the reading public via the pages of fiction." Davis's commentary further notes that in his handling of the story, "Caruthers avoided the legend's chief literary liability: the fact that its great scene, the rescue, comes at the beginning of the episode and not at the end, where the climax ought to come."[31] Davis also mentions other parallels that can be drawn between Smith's Pocahontas and Caruther's Wyanokee as he alludes to the fact that both these maids were Indian chiefs' daughters and that both were "quite good-looking." But he concludes his discussion by commenting, tongue-in-cheek, upon a real difference between these two Indian girls as he observes in a terrible

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[30]Curtis Carroll Davis, Chronicler of the Cavaliers (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1953), p. 167.

[31]Ibid., p. 168.

pun that, "unlike the original who finally married a white man, Wyanokee does not succeed in bringing home her Bacon."[32]

Be she named Wyanokee or Pocahontas, the image of the noble savage is very pronounced in the portrait of the Indian heroine that Caruthers draws. Nobility of nature, magnanimity, a sense of justice that is stronger than tribal loyalty--these combine with the eloquence which Wyanokee displays in a piece that she speaks in defense of her own race to project an image that is invariably positive.

In 1852 another version of the Pocahontas story[33] appeared in a serialized treatment that was published anonymously in four consecutive issues of The Leisure Hour, a weekly magazine that claimed to be a family journal which was devoted to instruction and recreation. In this extremely fanciful and highly didactic handling of the story, greater liberties were taken with Smith's original material than had been the case in any of the treatments of the theme examined up to this point. The entire chronology of the plot has been altered so that the climactic rescue scene will conveniently occur near the end of the story. Although some of the other scenes in this presentation are to be found in Smith's version, they are used here not in

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[32]C. C. Davis, Chronicler, p. 168.

[33]"Pocahontas," The Leisure Hour, 1, Nos. 37-40 (1852), 577-82; 593-97; 609-12; and 625-26.

their original but in an altered form. In a frame of reference that is foreign to that which Smith originally used, these scenes are made to anticipate rather than look back to that dramatic event at Powhatan's court when the whole future of the Virginia colony hung in the balance with the raising of the executioner's club above the head of Captain Smith.

Another major change that this author makes in his telling of the story has to do with the depiction of the characters whom Smith had presented in his narrative and with the creation of one major character in the story whom Smith mentions not at all. At the very outset of the story, the reader is introduced to Sir Edward--not Captain John--Smith. Sir Edward is depicted as an English sea captain who, in coming to Virginia at age thirty-six, leaves at home a beloved wife and two young children. As in all earlier versions, however, Smith--the experienced and perceptive leader--assumes the governance of the colony. And when we meet Pocahontas, an event which occurs fairly early in this story and long before Smith's original introduction of her at the rescue scene, she is not the child of ten who was originally depicted but a fetching Indian maid of eighteen who is meant to beguile the reader by her physical beauty as well as by her beauty of soul. Perhaps the most significant innovation in this presentation, however, is the addition to the cast of a character who

represents the stereotype of the melodramatic villain. This is accomplished in the person of Jukka, the Indian brave who continually stirs up strife between the red man and the white and who continually lusts after Smith's blood because Pocahontas rejects him in favor of the English captain--albeit the latter is seemingly oblivious to the designs that the Indian maid has upon him. Around these three characters and against a backdrop of the constant tension between the savages and the civilized elements that develop in this wilderness setting is woven a story of high adventure. The sometimes noble, sometime perfidious, characterization of Captain Smith and Powhatan which shows both of these men acting in the name of expediency and the constant portrait of treachery that is projected in the depiction of Jukka offer a pronounced contrast to the always noble nature of the princess Pocahontas. As in previous treatments of the story that have been examined, then, she again becomes the very epitome of the noble savage in this otherwise greatly altered version of the story.

Whenever the Pocahontas story has been related in the fiction examined up to this juncture in the present study, the male lead--the counterpart of the role played by the Indian princess--has always been assumed by Captain Smith. After all, as the original narrator of the legend, Smith had given himself the inside edge. It is true that John Davis--so as to make him a more acceptable husband

for Pocahontas in the eyes of his readers--does elevate the role played by John Rolfe in his later, more embroidered version of the story. But even here, Captain Rolfe--for so he becomes in these versions--seldom equals and never surpasses the heroic stature of Smith in the narrative.

With the fictional handling of the Pocahontas material that appears in Mary Jane Windle's Life at the White Sulphur Springs,[34] however, the previously inflexible emphasis upon Smith as the hero comes to an end. As he reads the segment of this rare book which is entitled "Pocahontas: A Legend of Virginia," one who is familiar with previous tellings of the story will be surprised by the lack of attention that is accorded the exploits of Captain Smith and by the emphasis that is placed upon the actions--for exploits is too strong a word here--of John Rolfe. The whole focus of the action is changed, for Rolfe's first meeting with his future bride occurs well in advance of her intercession to save Smith's life. Indeed, it is her emotional involvement with Rolfe--a clear case of love at first sight for both parties--that combines with the impulses of her naturally compassionate heart and causes her to intervene on Smith's behalf. Her act is not prompted here, as in all earlier versions of the story, by her being

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[34]Mary Jane Windle, Life at the White Sulphur Springs: or Pictures of a Pleasant Summer (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1857).

smitten by the masculine charm of the victim. The rescue of Smith is therefore of little consequence in this version of the tale, and it pales in impact when compared to the highly dramatic wedding and baptismal scenes and, most of all, with the "Camille-like" death scene which concludes the story. It is also significant to note that this death scene occurs not in England--as it had in all previous versions--but in Virginia and that Powhatan is a constant visitor at the Rolfe homestead during the last chapters. Both of these fictional episodes are diametrically in contrast to Smith's accounts. For as Captain Smith tells it, Gravesend was the site of Pocahontas's death, and Powhatan would never have been so naive as to place himself at the white man's mercy by coming to visit even at the home of his son-in-law. A final change that must be mentioned in dealing with Miss Windle's presentation of the story has to do with the emphasis which she places on the positive effects of Christianity upon the Indian princess. Like her predecessors, this author depicts the pre-Christian Pocahontas as a noble savage, but this portrayal of nobility pales when compared to the saintly picture of the now Christian Indian maid that one finds in the final episodes of the story. Just as Rolfe replaces Smith as the hero, so the Christian Pocahontas replaces the pagan one as the heroine in this unique presentation of the Pocahontas story.

After the appearance in 1859 of an unimpressive, anonymous work entitled The Chief's Daughter; or the Settlers of Virginia[35] which contained little more than an insipidly embroidered rehash of Smith's accounts concerning the early days of the Virginia colony, the next significant prose-fiction treatment of the Pocahontas materials is to be found in H. M. George's Jack o' Feather; or the Daughter of Powhatan.[36] This work was published in 1870 as one of the titles in a widely circulated series which was known as "Muro's ten-cent novels." Like Miss Windle's work, which had appeared some thirteen years earlier, George's novel concerns itself primarily with the relationship between the Indian princess and John Rolfe. But in this work the portrait of Rolfe is divorced even further from the portrayal of him that is to be found in Smith's original accounts, for here he becomes a character who fits the stereotype of the cavalier. The very qualities that Smith assigned to himself in his telling of the story are now transferred to Rolfe, and the final effect of these attributes on the impressionable Indian girl, Pocahontas, is to arouse her ardor for Rolfe just as they did for Smith in earlier versions of the story. This is not a "love at first sight" story, however, for it is only after Rolfe

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[36]H. M. George, Jack o' Feather; or The Daughter of Powhatan. A Story of Jamestown and Its Environs (New York: George Muro, 1870).

rather vigorously pleads his cause that Pocahontas accepts him.

As a contrast to Rolfe's ultimately successful wooing of the Indian maid, George introduces a purely fictional secondary love interest into the novel in the person of "letcherous, old" Sir Lionel Walworth who has designs on a young English girl, Adelaide Courtney. Sir Lionel pursues his case with a vigor that is equal to Rolfe's but with less "happy" results. It is the contrast between a love that is worthy and one that is unworthy of consummation that George draws here--thus giving an added sentimental interest to his story that would appeal to his predominantly female audience. Unlike other versions of the tale, this story stops short of the journey to England by the Rolfe family as it concludes with the wedding of the white man to his Indian bride and romantically comments on the political implications of this marriage. He observes that in this union lies a "bond of marriage lately consummated which bound the hearts of two races together."

George's version of this story may be made less significant by the fact that Miss Windle had preceded him in removing the emphasis from the Smith-Pocahontas story and placing it on the Rolfe-Pocahontas theme. By a somewhat different depiction of character and by abbreviation of his presentation of the narrative so that the wedding scene becomes its last episode, however, he accomplishes something

that Windle had not attempted. Neither the image of the noble savage nor that of the pagan turned Christian takes preeminence in the depiction of Pocahontas here; for it is not the presentation of a commentary on cultural or religious implications, but the telling of an appealing love story that most concerns this author. The Pocahontas that George draws could be yellow, white, red, or polka dot; she could be Moslem, Hindu, Christian, or pagan. The point is that she is a woman who is wooed and won by John Rolfe, and this is the story that George proceeds to tell his readers.

As has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter, John Davis performed a kind of bellwether service as he unearthed, popularized, and fictionalized the Pocahontas story. After Davis, however, there is perhaps no other writer of prose fiction who contributed more widely to the popularization of this legend of early Virginia than did John Esten Cooke. As a native son of the Old Dominion, this author was constantly aware of his Virginia heritage--of the facts and fictions that were inseparably combined to form the chronicles of her early history. Many of Cooke's efforts as a poet, as a historian, and as a writer of prose fiction, then, are a mere reflection of his abiding interest in the state that gave him birth. It would be odd, indeed, if a Virginian with such interests as these should not feel the basic appeal of the "pretty, romantic" qualities of the Pocahontas story, and that Cooke did so

is evidenced by his various handlings of these materials in several of his works.

Although it is a brief one, Cooke's first significant reference to the Pocahontas story is to be found in a poem, "A Dream of Cavaliers," which appeared in the January 1861 issue of Harper's Magazine. But since the present essay is only concerned with a study of prose fiction pieces, comment on this item will be reserved for the appropriate chapter. Following this first mention of Smith and Pocahontas, however, almost two decades were to elapse before Cooke again turned his attention to these materials and told their story more fully as he interspersed it throughout a thirty-eight page segment of Stories of the Old Dominion[37] which is devoted to a retelling of "The Adventures of Captain John Smith." After the lapses in the projection of Smith as the inviolable hero of the story which have been noted in the novels of Windle and George and in the wake of attempts on the part of Charles Deane and his circle to denigrate the veracity of Smith's accounts, one finds in Cooke an author who relies heavily upon the Generall Historie as the source for his story-line and hence one who returns the captain to that level of importance which he always held in the original narratives. What Cooke

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[37]John Esten Cooke, Stories of the Old Dominion: From the Settlement to the Revolution (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1879).

adds to his source in this version, then, is not done with an eye toward supplying his reader with imagined episodes or toward altering the chronological sequence that is established in Smith's accounts. His embroidery, on the other hand, is of that variety which has to do with the insertion of descriptive passages that provide the reader with a greater sense of the setting and with a fuller--more or less three dimensional--depiction of the characters of Pocahontas and John Smith. In his delineation of Pocahontas as savage, for example, Cooke establishes one of the most romantically idealized portraits of the Indian girl and one that he was to employ later in his more fanciful handling of the story as he tells his reader that at the moment when Smith was about to be executed:

> . . . An Indian girl of twelve or thirteen sprang toward him. From her dress, it was plain that she ranked as a princess. The plume in her black hair was similar to that worn by Powhatan, and her moccasins were embroidered like the old emperor's. On her arms were bracelets of shells, and from her shoulders fell a robe of doeskin, covered with the plumage of birds, and lined with down from the breasts of wild pigeons.[38]

And no thumbnail sketch of the captain as a heroic character can surpass, in its didactic veneration or appreciation of its subject, the passage with which Cooke concludes his essay:

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[38]Cooke, Stories, p. 45.

> . . . He [Smith] lived in a memorable age, and was one of the foremost men of his time. The middle or Dark Ages, as they are called, were giving way to the modern world, and John Smith seemed to have in his character what was the best in both. He was a romantic soldier, but a man of business also. He loved fame, but was ready for the hardest work. We find him talking at one moment with Dukes and princes, and then, axe in hand, cutting down trees to build palisades. He was ready to fight the Turks, or to bargain with Powhatan for a grindstone. In all this he showed his good sense and readiness to do his duty. He looked to heaven to help him always, but he meant to do his best also to help himself; and this makes him a noble example.[39]

These attitudes toward this pair of historical characters--the tendency to make Pocahontas the "noble savage" and Smith the "noble cavalier"--continue to be evidenced in Cooke's presentation of their story in Virginia: A History of the People (1883), which although it pretends to be history has a distinctly romantic aura about it which is usually foreign to historical scholarship.

From the number and variety of Cooke's works that have been mentioned above, it can be seen that he had an abiding interest in the Pocahontas materials. The crowning achievement among this author's various embroideries upon the Pocahontas theme, however, is to be found in My Lady Pokahontas: A True Relation of Virginia Writ by Anas Todkill, a novelette which appeared in 1885 and which Professor Jay B. Hubbell labels "one of the best of the many

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[39]Ibid., p. 55.

fictional treatments of the Smith-Pocahontas story."[40] It seems likely that Cooke is still responding in this work to the bitter attacks upon Smith's veracity that were so prevalent at the time, for it is an extremely favorable portrait of the English captain that is drawn here. Everything that the hero does in this version--and there can be no doubt that it is Smith who holds center stage even when he is physically absent from the action--is the courageous, the just, the sagacious thing; and as if to highlight the hero's goodness, all of his opponents--both red and white--are scoundrels who act only from selfishness or expediency. In this version Smith returns the love that Pocahontas feels for him--a situation that was generally denied, ignored, or greatly played down in previous versions. But even here when it becomes a major element in the story, this is rationalized as the narrator tells us that although the Indian maid is but thirteen years of age, "she looks and acts seventeen" so Smith can return her love without fear of criticism.[41]

As the full title of this work indicates this account pretends to be the work of one Anas Todkill, an intimate friend, worshipful follower, and confidant of

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[40]Jay B. Hubbell, "The Smith-Pocahontas Literary Legend" in South and Southwest (Durham: Duke University Press, 1965), p. 192.

[41]John Esten Cooke, My Lady Pokahontas (1885; rpt. Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1968), p. 61.

Captain Smith, with only the glosses and the notes being furnished by Cooke. In these notes, which represent the author's attempt to give the work the air of being an authentic historical work, Cooke cites authorities to substantiate Todkill's story; but this support is always drawn either from Smith's accounts themselves or from those writings of Smith's contemporaries that can be depended upon to corroborate the English captain's narratives. Todkill is ever loyal to his captain and to the vision of "my lady Pokahontas" which his protagonist holds and is thus ever suspicious of those who would in any way rock the boat in which his hero's political or romantic aspirations ride. As Todkill sees it, Rolfe becomes a minor scoundrel when he weds Pocahontas, for the narrator always suspects that this Virginia planter knows that Smith is alive but gives impetus to spreading the rumor that he is dead. Smith, who is Todkill's hero, Pocahontas, who becomes his "sainted lady," and Rolfe, who becomes the object of his suspicion--all of these are skillfully depicted in the blend of fact and fiction which is included in the narrative that Anas Todkill presents.

Regardless of its extreme glorification of Smith and Pocahontas, of its unjust denigration of John Rolfe to the level of a deceitful, self-serving hypocrite, and of its almost plagiaristic reliance upon its sources at times, My Lady Pokahontas presents an entertaining story in which

Cooke employs several interesting techniques. The story is told in a quaint, though certainly inaccurate, "Puritan" mode of speech which, when compared to the nineteenth century style used in Cooke's glosses and notes, tends to create the illusion of antiquity. The author's use of parentheses is also striking. He not only inserts explanations in them, but also laughs at himself, praises God, curses himself mildly, and expresses his personal beliefs about and attitudes toward incidents in his story with them. Finally, it should be noted that Todkill's telling of the story is a sort of rambling affair, for Anas has a great affinity for exploring tangents. But Todkill (Cooke) constantly calls himself back from these tangential musings to his main subject, Pocahontas, when he feels that he is becoming too much involved in extraneous matters. On such occasions the narrator refers persons interested in the matter at hand to more general historical accounts as he reminds both himself and his reader that, "This true relation tells the story of Pokahontas."[42]

Although one finds many passages in My Lady Pokahontas that are lifted almost verbatim from Smith's accounts, a number of its episodes and the very relationship between Anas and other characters in the narrative are the product of Cooke's imagination. For example, in relating

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[42]Cooke, My Lady, p. 141.

the pre-Virginia experiences of Todkill and Smith, the narrator tells of a visit that these two make to the Mermaid Tavern where they meet and converse with Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. In the course of their talk, Shakespeare mentions his interest in the savage wilds of the New World as a source of subject matter for a drama, and Smith--who has just recruited Toldkill to accompany him on an expedition to Virginia--promises to provide the playwright with such accounts of his American adventures as might be suited to this purpose. After this convivial meeting, Smith and Todkill proceed to visit King James himself and to make final plans for their departure for the New World. Neither of these episodes is mentioned in any of the accounts written by Smith or by any of his contemporaries, but each serves to give the story the kind of imaginative, romantic appeal that Cooke strives to achieve.

After their arrival in Virginia, the story that Todkill tells generally parallels that to be found in Smith's accounts, but even here the sketchy, colorful manner that Todkill employs keeps his narrative from being as tedious as his sources had been. The familiar tragedies and comedies of life in the new settlement are described, but greatest emphasis is always placed on the roles that Smith and Pocahontas played in them. Todkill is usually the eyewitness reporter, but in describing the rescue

scene--perhaps the most naturally dramatic as well as the most romantic scene in the entire chronicle of early Virginia history--he has to settle for a second-hand account. He--as do most earlier writers--records this scene as his captain had told it to him, and from the glowing portrait of Pocahontas that Smith paints, Anas conjectures that his commander's heart has been smitten by the Indian maid. From this point onward the love affair between the English captain and Pocahontas becomes the most important thread in the story. In the course of the tale the glorified captain is lover, disciplinarian, thwarter of mutinies, skillful Indian trader, intrepid explorer, and co-savior of the colony. So long as he remains in command everything runs smoothly. When he is forced to leave, however, the colony immediately falls on bad times, and nothing but the combined results of Sir Thomas Dale's most earnest efforts and the marriage of Rolfe to Pocahontas are able to restore the well-being of the settlement.

In the course of the story told in My Lady Pokahontas, Rolfe, Pocahontas and their infant son, Thomas, make a voyage to England. Here the Indian princess is received in a fashion that befits her station, and the old legend about the king's displeasure at Rolfe's taking a princess to be his wife without first obtaining royal sanction is introduced into a fictional account for the first time. Another fiction-coated fact that Cooke develops

is related to Pocahontas's attendance at the Globe Theatre as a guest of the Queen to attend a performance of Shakespeare's The Tempest. In the process of the play, Pocahontas recognizes her own person in the character of Miranda, sees Captain Smith sitting in the author's box, and is seen by him and William Shakespeare whose reaction Anas fully describes:

> Is yonder truly the Princess Pokahontas? he asks. His friend Captain Smith hath told him how she once saved him, and he hath figured her in his Miranda, that is, one to be wondered at; as see where Miranda cries, "Beseech you father! Sir, have pity; I'll be his surety!" when Prospero would smite down Ferdinand as Powhatan would smite down Smith. This Ferdinand is Smith, he says laughing, though a King's son; and Caliban is a deformed Indian, one Rawhunt, whereof Smith hath oft told him; which Caliban saith in the play that Duke Prospero calleth Miranda his "Nonpareil" which is what Captain Smith calleth the Lady Pocahontas.[43]

Following the tete-a-tete of Shakespeare, Smith and Todkill at the Globe, Pocahontas and the captain meet accidentally, and though aloof at first, they become very intimate as the flames of their now hopeless love are rekindled. Resigned to their fate, they part--he to depart on a voyage to New England; she to return to Virginia with her family. The pathetic death of the Lady Rebecca, on the eve of her return to the land of her birth, is tenderly related and brings Anas Todkill's narrative to a close.

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[43]Cooke, My Lady, pp. 172-73.

While Smith, and Rolfe, and even Todkill, are key figures in this novel, "my lady Pocahontas" is always its center of interest. It yet remains, therefore, in this discussion of Cooke's best handling of the Pocahontas materials to comment briefly upon the portrayal of the Indian princess that is to be found in this work. Shortly after the colonists arrive in America, the narrative becomes "my lady Pokahontas's;" and it continues to be hers to the end of the novel with just enough of the colonists' affairs woven in to the story to make her essential to their existence. No opportunity to glorify the Indian maid is ignored as Cooke relates sympathetically, romantically and in minute detail every historically-known act of kindness that she bestows upon the colonists and then fabricates several fictional episodes which tend to make her good deeds even more numerous. For example, in a purely fictitious episode Pocahontas rescues Todkill from the executioner's bludgeon using much the same manner that she had earlier employed in her intercession on behalf of Smith. For this act Todkill names her his "Sainted lady Pocahontas" and declares himself her henchman until death. Her presence is always a source of joy and comfort to the settlers; for they know that peace will prevail as long as she is in their midst. Her undying love for Smith brought about the preservation of the early colony on several occasions; her marriage with Rolfe ended for several years the

English-Indian hostility and resulted in mutual happiness. These are but two of the points that Todkill makes in his story in praise of the Indian princess. By tracing the career of Pocahontas through her two love affairs, the reader learns that she was deeply in love with Smith until her death and that she married Rolfe only after she was convinced that her true love no longer lived. In the course of Cooke's version of the story, one sees Pocahontas's character undergo a threefold transformation: physically she changes from a child to a woman; spiritually from a pagan to a Christian; and socially from a raw, untutored, savage maid to an accomplished Englishwoman in her speech, dress, manners, and allegiance. These changes would suggest that Cooke subscribes to that theory of progress which argues that the "noble savage" can be made even more noble by the conditions which are to be encountered in a more highly civilized society. Throughout all of these changes, however, Cooke's heroine remains consistently gentle, sweet, sympathetic, and merciful--in other words, she is the completely "noble" person at every juncture in the story whether she be savage or sophisticate. Even when she is in her most primitive state, she becomes for Smith a "Nonpareil" among her people, and comparisons which proclaim her superiority to her more cultured English sisters in the virtues that really matter are frequently met in Cooke's depiction of her. If there is a flaw in Cooke's Pocahontas,

it is probably her tendency to weep. It may certainly be said that in this treatment the Indian maid is more lachrymose than in all the other depictions of her put together. This, however, seems to be Cooke's way of highlighting that quality of feminine sympathy which is the wellspring of those kind deeds which are made typical of this character. The vogue of the noble savage had fallen somewhat into disfavor by 1885, but in Cooke's treatment of the story Pocahontas is essentially neither the "noble savage" nor the noble sophisticate. She is the noble woman. By thus depicting Pocahontas Cooke pays his heroine one of the most glowing tributes that is to be found in all of the accounts--factual or fictional--that have been written about her.

If both technical merit and narrative excellence are considered, one may argue that with Cooke's My Lady Pokahontas the high-water mark has been reached among the various fictional handlings of the Pocahontas theme that were produced during the first three centuries of the legend's existence. There were, however, a few other fictional treatments of the story during the remaining two decades of this period which are innovative enough to merit brief consideration. In 1892 Virginia Dare: A Romance of the Sixteenth Century[44] by Mrs. E. A. B. S.[hackleford] was

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[44]E. A. B. S.[hackleford], Virginia Dare: A Romance of the Sixteenth Century (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1892).

published; and while this purely fictional tale mainly relates to its titular character, two noble deeds performed by Pocahontas, at a time that clearly precedes her association with the Jamestown settlement, become pivotal episodes of the narrative. In the process of the story a party of Englishmen from the Roanoke Colony, which includes Virginia Dare, seek refuge in the land of Powhatan. The old chief hates white men, but Pocahontas--who is depicted as the beautiful thirteen or fourteen-year old favorite of her father--intercedes on their behalf. After Barnes, one of the Roanoke colonists, accidentally kills one of Powhatan's braves, however, all the whites are condemned to be executed and the sentence is carried out on all except Virginia Dare. This maid, historically the first white child to be born in British America, is given a single day's reprieve by the old chief because of her great beauty. During this day of grace, the heroine of the story is able to escape with the help of Pocahontas, who is here already playing the role of savior that anticipates her later career as Smith's guardian angel. While the part that Pocahontas plays in this novel is a minor one, her role in the story is interesting because of the way in which it deals fictionally with the Indian maid at a time that precedes the Jamestown era.

Also copyrighted in the same year as Mrs. Shackleford's work, but much less original in its

approach since it differs in but few details from the standard accounts that Cooke and other creative writers had already thoroughly developed, is a book-length treatment of the Pocahontas story by John R. Musick entitled Pocahontas: A Story of Virginia.[45] Although this is one of the longest versions of the tale, it amounts to little more in most of its episodes than an extremely padded presentation of Smith's telling of the Pocahontas story. It has been puffed out with episodes that have been lifted, without scruple, almost directly from those appended to Smith's accounts by earlier creative writers. In other words, there is little that is original in Musick's handling of the material, and certainly nothing as unusual as Mrs. Shackleford's association of the Indian princess with Virginia Dare. This author does, however, make a few innovative additions to the story that are worthy of mention. For example, he lays more stress than had previous writers upon the matter of Pocahontas's true name being kept from the whites lest they should gain some supernatural means of harming or controlling her through a knowledge of it. Throughout the early portion of Musick's narrative, Powhatan carefully guards this secret, and it is only after he learns that she has taken "Rebecca" as her Christian name that the old chief relaxes his care and openly refers to his dearest

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[45]John R. Musick, Pocahontas: A Story of Virginia (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1893).

daughter as "Matoaka." All of the details which Musick weaves into the fabric of his story with regard to the secrecy surrounding the true name had been handled previously by both historian and creative writer, but his is the most dramatic rendition that had appeared in fiction up to this time. Another instance which reveals Musick's further embroidery of his story is in his development of a discussion between John Rolfe and Pocahontas concerning the necessity of her conversion from paganism to Christianity. On this occasion Rolfe reminds Pocahontas that since she has promised to become his wife, she must also consent to become a Christian. To this the maid agreeably responds: "Teach me to become a Christian."[46] The novel then reports that Rolfe rather methodically sets to his task and that the princess, though an eager pupil, is disturbed as her mentor teaches her the ten commandments, for she knows that the white men slay Indians without any seeming compunction. Rolfe, however, attempts to resolve her doubts as he explains that since Indians are unbelieving heathens, they are not included in the commandments of God. Although this does not seem to Pocahontas to be an entirely satisfactory answer to her question, Musick has her acquiesce meekly to Rolfe's sophistry. Finally, one may note that the Pocahontas who is depicted in Musick's novel--albeit she

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[46]Musick, p. 275.

listens meekly to Rolfe's religious instruction--is usually less the angel and more the woman than she has been in previous fictional portrayals. A case in point is to be observed as she openly shows her resentment at being taken hostage by Captain Argall:

> What wrong have I done that you should carry me away from my friends? . . . Have I not . . . shown that I was willing, even at the risk of my life to save them [the English], and why do you seek to drag me back to your town a prisoner?[47]

No tearful, yielding maiden here, Pocahontas assumes a role which, if less noble, is more human than that which one has encountered before in the various treatments of her character. As Musick draws her, she has apparently learned another lesson from the white culture about the power of a "tongue-lashing" properly administered by a female upon a male.

Following Musick's sometimes interesting but generally uninspired efforts to tell her story, there ensues a decade in prose fiction of almost complete silence with regard to the Pocahontas theme. It is true that passing references to the Indian princess and to the services that she performed on behalf of the Jamestowners are made in F. J. Stimson's King Noanett: A Story of Old Virginia and Massachusetts Bay (1896),[48] in Mary Johnston's To Have and

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[47]Musick, p. 248.

[48]F. J. Stimson, King Noanett: A Story of Old Virginia and Massachusetts Bay (Boston: Lamson, Walffe and Co., 1896).

to Hold (1899),[49] and in W. H. Moore's Virginia Dare: A Story of Colonial Days (1904).[50] But none of these adds anything that is significant to the now almost standard narrative line that was employed in retelling the Pocahontas story.

Even among those prose fiction pieces which found their inspiration in the Jamestown tercentenary, there are only two works which are promising. Only one of these elevates the Pocahontas part in the genesis of our nation above a minor role. Vaughan Kester's John o' Jamestown (1907)[51] is chiefly John Smith's story, and hence it is disappointing in so far as the Pocahontas narrative is concerned. Indeed, everything that is included in this three-hundred-and-fifty-three page novel about Powhatan's favorite daughter and her indisputable services to the Virginia colony could be repeated in five pages at most, and this material is so scattered throughout the last two-thirds of the work that there is no way to give it the continuity of a tale. In the process of this narrative, Pocahontas does rescue Captain Smith, and on more than one occasion she does bring food to save the colonists from

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[49]Mary Johnston, To Have and To Hold (1899; rpt. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934).

[50]W. H. Moore, Virginia Dare: A Story of Colonial Days (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton, 1904).

[51]Vaughan Kester, John o' Jamestown (New York: McClure Publishing Company, 1907).

starvation. Moreover, through her intercession with her father, she preserves the life of Richard Farraday--who like Cooke's Anas Todkill is the fictitious narrator of the story--and of Henry Spillman, the white settler who was assigned to serve as interpreter and ambassador between the white and the Indian communities. The portrait one gets of Pocahontas in this work, however, is only an undetailed sketch; a few lines are inevitably devoted to praise of her physical attractiveness and her generosity, to a brief paragraph about her rescue of Smith, to a sketch of one of her visits to Jamestown, and to a hurried fictional conversation between the princess and Richard Farraday. Because it is given such brief attention, her character is left undeveloped in this work. She is not captured and held as hostage; she is not taught the English language, and is not converted to Christianity, nor does she assume the vestiges of English culture; and she has no love affair with anyone, although there are veiled allusions to her marriage to John Rolfe some years in the future. Even the rescue itself is not described first hand but is only presented as a retelling of the report which Smith delivered upon his return from his most singular journey, and its most salient feature is a very un-Smith-like tendency toward concision. Kester's novel may well be worthy of favorable comment it

receives at the hands of several commentators,[52] but none of this praise is due to its handling of the Pocahontas materials.

Much more significant in the development of the Pocahontas theme, however, is Mary Virginia Wall's novel The Daughter of Virginia Dare,[53] which appeared in 1908 exactly three hundred years after Smith's first published mention of the Indian girl. In this entertaining fictional story, Miss Wall develops an entirely new concept concerning who Pocahontas was, and although it contains several historical discrepancies, the story is so fresh and innovative that a summary of its action seems appropriate. The basic fiction of this work is the depiction of Pocahontas as the daughter of Virginia Dare, who herself was the first white child born of English parents in America. In a prelude to the standard accounts that had become associated with the telling of the Pocahontas story, Miss Wall bridges the gap between the founding of the Roanoke Colony and the settlement at Jamestown and explains

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[52]For comments concerning Kester's novel see: Randall Stewart, "Vaughan Kester," in The Dictionary of American Biography, X, p. 360; Frederick T. Cooper, "The Economies of Structure and Some Recent Books," The Bookman, 26 (Dec., 1907), 404-10; and Loy Y. Bryant, "The Pocahontas Theme in American Literature," M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1935, pp. 68-72.

[53]Mary Virginia Wall, The Daughter of Virginia Dare (New York: Neal Publishing Company, 1908).

how Virginia Dare came to be the mother of the Indian princess. This introductory section moves the reader from the day that the Roanoke expedition, sponsored by Raleigh and led by Governor John White, set sail from England in May 1587, to the birth of Pocahontas and the death of Virginia Dare some ten years later. The colonists make the voyage successfully, land, and engage themselves in building a settlement; and in the midst of this activity a daughter is born to Eleanor and John Dare, whom they name Virginia. As the story progresses, the colony falls on bad times, and all the settlers--with the exception of the newly born Virginia Dare--either starve or are massacred by hostile Indians. She is spared, however, and is reared in a Catawba village as the daughter of a tribal chief until she reaches the age of twelve. At this time Wingina, Virginia's foster father, is defeated by Powhatan, and the white girl is carried to Powhatan's village as a spoil of war. Powhatan immediately falls in love with his English captive and makes some amorous advances which are not returned. Nevertheless, the chief has his way with her, and a daughter is born to Virginia from a union with Powhatan. At this point the young mother dies, leaving the baby girl to the love and the mercy of her Indian father.

After this interestingly told, but highly imaginative, opening section, Miss Wall returns her reader to England and starts him out on yet another expedition

to the New World--this time on a voyage to Jamestown. The account that develops here is conscientiously faithful to Smith's chronicles of the period. Throughout this author's presentation of the establishment of the new settlement, however, interest in the activities and the character of Pocahontas is predominant. This product of an English-Indian union lavishes her goodness and mercy upon the colonists through her preservation of their leader, Captain Smith, by her feeding of the settlers, by her warning of Smith and others against the dangers of Indian attack, by her assistance in preventing "Henry Spilman" [sic] from becoming a sacrifice to the Indian god Okee, and by her numerous other acts of kindness. Through her marriage to John Rolfe, Jamestown gains a peaceful, prosperous, happy status. Her reception at the English court is described in detailed, modern society-page fashion. And after the conventional account of the last meeting between the Indian princess and Captain Smith is related, the story comes to a close with the always pathetic details surrounding the untimely death of this English-Indian woman.

Miscegenation, as it is represented by the marriage of the Indian girl, Pocahontas, and the English planter, John Rolfe, had always been a part of the Pocahontas chronicle; but with Miss Wall's novel this theme is carried one step farther as she gives her heroine an extraction that mingles the blood of a red father with that of a

white mother. This author seems to suggest that perhaps it is the white man's blood which flows in the veins of the Indian princess that accounts for her eagerness to acquire the cultural and religious trappings of the Jamestown settlers. Even though there is certainly no documentable basis in fact for Miss Wall's legend concerning Virginia Dare's role as the mother of Pocahontas, this work does provide a uniquely different approach to the story of the Indian maid which is both interesting and entertaining. The result is a historical novel that is pleasing to the reader in spite of the looseness of its structure and notwithstanding the considerable freedom taken with historical fact in unfolding the narrative.

In the development of the present chapter, what amounts to the first one hundred and seven years of the history of prose-fiction treatment of the Pocahontas theme has been examined. When one considers the great number of dramas, poems, and miscellaneous pieces recreating the story of Pocahontas and her associations with the early settlement of Jamestown that graced this same period in American literary history, the fact that so few novelists turned a hand to this body of material seems strange. It is probable, however, that would-be Pocahontas novelists were content to let the dramatists monopolize the story after Davis had made it popular. As we shall see in the next chapter, by the time the playwrights had completed their

exploitation of this subject matter, Pocahontas had been ridiculed into temporary unpopularity. About the same time the historical-literary war concerning Smith's character and the authenticity of his claims with regard to Pocahontas in his Generall Historie broke out to throw even more doubt on this material, and its appropriateness as a subject for popular literature became further suspect. Under such circumstances it is probable that neither novelists nor publishers had the courage to risk unpopularity through the production of an extended work devoted to a theme that was currently unpopular or controversial. It should be remembered that John Davis turned to this material because it provided a new theme for the fiction writer, that John Esten Cooke wrote his romance, My Lady Pokahontas, as a Virginian defending a legend basic to his native heritage, and that Mary Virginia Wall, in writing The Daughter of Virginia Dare, was taking advantage of the renewed interest in the subject stimulated by the Jamestown Exposition of 1907-08.

It is not a question, however, of how numerous the Pocahontas novels were during the period being considered, but the effect that the fictional treatments which were done had upon the characters that they developed and upon the story that they attempted to tell. Character depiction is varied in several ways. On the one hand, the reader encounters a fairly static picture of the Indian princess

which by its contrast to the portraits of other characters, both white men and red, constantly emphasizes the qualities of the "noble savage" that are basic to her nature. The hero's role in the novels, on the other hand, vacillates between John Smith and John Rolfe. In those works where Smith's image becomes positive, Rolfe's role becomes that of the adversary and vice versa. But in any case, neither Smith nor Rolfe ever soar to the heights of nobility which are constant for Pocahontas. The narrative line of these fictional accounts is eternally being embroidered with new characters and original episodes.

The love theme achieves ever greater emphasis until it reaches greatest development in Cooke's My Lady Pokahontas. The passionate, but unrequited, love that Pocahontas feels for Smith is generally countered by a similar intensity of feeling for the Indian maid that is exhibited by John Rolfe and that finally results in his wooing and wedding her. The rescue scene, the abduction, the baptismal scene, the marriage of Pocahontas to Rolfe, the last meeting between Pocahontas and her beloved Smith, the poignant death scene--these are the raw materials from which the prose-fiction writer fashioned his story. Emphasizing one era of Pocahontas's life, passing over lightly or completely ignoring another, fabricating imagined characters and episodes, inverting the proper chronology of events for the sake of art, but generally keeping the

basically noble image of the Indian princess before his reader--these were the methods that John Davis initiated and that other writers in all creative genres were to employ in treating the Pocahontas story throughout the period under consideration. And in general these are the methods that have held vogue in this matter even to the present day.

CHAPTER V

THE POCAHONTAS PLAYS: 1808-1908

In the Indian village of Werowocomoco there is an air of excitement as preparations are being made for a royal wedding. A marriage, based upon the expediencies of tribal politics, has been arranged between Powhatan's favorite daughter, the princess Pocahontas, and the dashing and impressive Miami, who is a prince of the Susquehannock nation. Music, which reflects the gala mood of the tribal preparations for this occasion, resounds throughout the woodland setting. Just as these strains attain an appropriate level of dramatic intensity, a handsome, dusky Indian maid steps forth from the shadows of the forest. She is dressed in a tribal garb that denotes a royal station, is armed with bow and arrow, and is carrying the spoil of her venture into the forest--a dead flamingo. As the Indian maidens from her father's village gather around her to admire this trophy of her hunt, she speaks to her attendant, Nima:

> O, Nima! I will use my bow no longer; I go out to the woods; and my heart is light; but while my arrow flies, I sorrow and when the bird drops through the branches, tears come into mine eyes. I will no longer use my bow.[1]

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[1]James Nelson Barker, The Indian Princess, or La Belle Savage (Philadelphia: T. and G. Putnam, 1808), p. 15.

In giving voice to these lines, which are of course indicative of her tender heart and compassionate nature, the princess Pocahontas speaks for the first time in James Nelson Barker's history-making play, The Indian Princess, and with this speech this character makes the first of her many appearances in the works of American playwrights who wrote between 1808 and 1908.

In discussing the broad popular appeal which the American Indian and all phases of his primitive culture enjoyed in the American dramas that were written prior to the Civil War, Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn dates the real beginning of the vogue of the Indian play from the stage-production of George Washington Parke Custis's drama The Indian Prophecy, which was presented at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia on July 4, 1827.[2] Any true record of the interest in the Indian as a subject of drama that was manifested by American playwrights, however, must date back somewhat earlier than this to Major Robert Rogers' unacted tragic play, Poteach, or the Savages of America, which was published in 1776; and certainly must include the aforementioned Barker drama which, as has been noted, represents the first of several Pocahontas plays that appeared on the stage. Also it was the first Indian play

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[2]Arthur Hobson Quinn, A History of American Drama from the Beginnings to the Civil War (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1923), p. 270.

by an American author to be produced when it appeared at Philadelphia's New Theatre on Chestnut Street on April 6, 1808.[3]

As was the case with other literary genres and with the graphic arts as well, the early years of the nineteenth century represent a period of real awakenings in American drama. Stimulated by the crusading efforts of such theatrical entrepreneurs as William Dunlap to develop the American theatre and encouraged by the nationalistic self-consciousness which grew out of a fledgling republic's thirst for cultural respectability, a new dramatic literary movement marked the beginning of the new century. For the first time native playwrights, as a group, turned to American themes and plots. Most of these dramatists--men like Mordecai N. Noah, Charles J. Ingersoll, Richard Penn Smith, Samuel Woodworth, George Washington Parke Custis, and James Nelson Barker--had no professional connection with the theatres or theatrical matters. They were generally only motivated to write plays which depicted in some way the American scene. It was such men as these that answered Dunlap's call for a native drama by native dramatists, and it was they, perhaps, who convinced leading actors of the

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[3]H. Wiley Hitchcock, "An Early American Melodrama: The Indian Princess of J. N. Barker and John Bray," Notes, 2nd Series, 12:3 (June, 1955), 375-76.

day--men like Edwin Forrest--of the value of American themes as a source of subject matter in drama.[4]

As these men who were already eminent for other reasons[5] wrote their plays, the enterprising managers of theatres in New York and Philadelphia saw the financial advantage and novelty in presenting pieces written by local men of note. Further encouragement was forthcoming from the press, and American drama took on a new look as American history, legend, and local life provided the subject matter for new plays and gave them a truly national flavor. An example of the reception which such endeavors received at the hands of critics is to be observed in the following extract from an essay by James Kirke Paulding which appeared in 1827. Concerning the use of native subjects for native drama, Paulding writes:

> There is probably, no country in the world, which affords more numerous and distinct characters than the United States. Our cities are full of bipeds from every quarter of the old world, bringing with them all their peculiarities, to be exhibited in a new sphere. From the city on the sea-side to the frontier settler--from him to the white hunter, more than half savage--to the savage himself--there are continual graduations in the character and

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[4]For a full discussion of these playwrights and their contribution to a native drama, see "James Nelson Barker and the Native Plays," in Quinn, pp. 136-62.

[5]Ingersoll and Smith were Philadelphia lawyers; Barker was a politician and mayor of Philadelphia for a single term; Woodworth and Noah were journalists and critics; and George Washington Parke Custis was the step-grandson of George Washington.

> situations of mankind; and every state in the Union is a little world by itself, exhibiting almost the same degree of difference that we observe in the English, the Scotch, and the Irish. Their manners, habits, occupations, prejudices, and opinions are equally various and dissimilar. For these reasons, we believe that there is no want of sufficient varieties of character in the United States to afford materials for diversified drama.[6]

Since the pages of American history were filled with dramatic encounters between the red man and the white, American playwrights, in seeking native subjects for their plays, naturally turned to the Indian. What better ready-made native drama could be found than that which abounded in the by that time almost legendary tales of Pocahontas and her relationships with John Smith, John Rolfe, and the other white settlers who came to the land of Powhatan?

James Nelson Barker, who was born on June 14, 1784, was the son of General John Barker of Philadelphia, whose career consisted of army service and of involvement in Pennsylvania politics at both local and state levels. The elder Barker was elected several times to serve as a Philadelphia alderman and served a single term as mayor of that city. In addition, then, to the usual public school training, General Barker's son received a practical education in the ways of contemporary politics from his father. Having completed his formal education, the

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[6]James K. Paulding, "The American Drama," The American Quarterly Review, I (June, 1827), 331.

younger Barker began his literary and political activities, and at times he combined the two professions as he drew upon his skill as a writer to broadcast his support for some political project. Drama, however, was Barker's favorite literary form, and the author writes in a letter to William Dunlap of some ten plays which he completed[7]--one of which was The Indian Princess, or La Belle Savage.

As early as 1805 Barker began work on his Pocahontas play and his intentions at that point were to produce a drama that would have a much more serious tone than that which is evidenced in his finished product. At the suggestion of John Bray, a musician and actor who was appearing at the New Theatre in Philadelphia, however, Barker altered his original plan and turned the piece into a libretto for an opera for which Bray proposed to furnish the musical score. The success of this joint venture may be measured by the number of performances of the work which were given and by the fact that Bray's score was published in its entirety rather than in the usual form which contained only two or three of the most popular musical numbers from the production.[8] According to E. J. Streubel,

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[7]See "Letter from James N. Barker to William Dunlap, June 10, 1832," in William Dunlap, History of the American Theatre (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1832), pp. 376-80.

[8]Ibid., pp. 375-76.

Barker's Indian Princess satisfies the requirements of an operatic melodrama of the early nineteenth century in that it is half-musical in character, declamation is interspersed with music, incidents determine the characters, and at the end of the play the unjustly oppressed receive happiness while the evil are punished.[9]

The entire action of The Indian Princess, in which seventeen characters--eleven Europeans and six Indians--have roles, is set in Virginia; and the plot line of dramatic incidents which project the serious themes of the story follows, in the main, the historical accounts and the chronological order of events that John Smith first presented in his Generall Historie of Virginia. The dramatic scenes which recreate these incidents are populated, however, by a cast which proves to be a blend of real and fictitious characters. One might say that the main incidents and characters are historical; while the minor ones are imaginary. Mere hints of action which Smith gave in the General Historie are embroidered upon by Barker until they become fully developed episodes in his play.

As this operatic melodrama opens, one sees a party of English settlers consisting of Captain Smith, Lieutenant Rolfe (note the unusual, but not unprecedented, elevation in rank that takes place here), Percy, Robin, Walter, Alice,

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[9]Ernest J. Streubel, "The Pocahontas Story in Early American Drama," The Colonnade, 10 (Sept., 1915), 69.

and others land safely on Virginia's shores; and after a hymn in praise of the country's natural beauty, they make plans to establish a permanent colony here in the king's name with John Smith as their self-appointed leader. Although Smith is generally projected throughout this drama as being a courageous, dashing, chivalrous, romantic leader whose authority and ability is never really questioned, he does at times become bombastic and theatrical and makes such speeches as:

> . . . Gallant gentlemen, We have a noble stage, on which to act a noble drama; let us then sustain our sev'ral parts with credit and with honour. Now, sturdy comrades, cheerily to our tasks![10]

In further projecting the character of his hero, Barker also places more emphasis upon Smith's former bellicose and amorous career than do any of the other serious Pocahontas plays. Among the songs, for example, one tells of the captain's Turkish exploits, and on several occasions Smith's manservant, Walter, speaks of his master's earlier experiences in love and war. Thus Smith is made a thoroughly romantic character. But for all of his swashbuckling, self-centered quality, Smith never forgets the serious nature of his office as leader of the infant colony or as an emissary whose ability to negotiate with the Indians is essential to the settlement's survival. He continually insists that his purpose in Virginia, as a

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[10]Barker, Pocahontas, p. 9.

representative of the white man's culture, is to make the red man wise and happy, and his speech, when he approaches death at the hand of Powhatan's executioners, is:

> Had not your people first beset me, king, I would have prov'd a friend and brother to them; Arts I'd have taught, that should have made them gods, and gifts would I have given to your people, Richer than red man ever yet beheld.[11]

In his overall attitude toward love and death, Smith is as stoical as the Indian is supposed to be, and these reactions gain respect for him among the red men. In this play, no love interest is suggested to exist between Pocahontas and Smith. He looks upon her as a child, and she speaks of him as a father or brother.

Rolfe is more individualized by Barker than he is in some of the later plays which deal with the Pocahontas theme. He becomes more the American and less the Englishman as he speaks distainfully of "dull, sluggish" England, and in so doing he reflects very clearly the playwright's own opinions that grew from the tutelage of his soldier father and from his own war experience. Even more revealing, perhaps, is Rolfe's declaration that he is an enemy of love, the "glistening toy of listless laziness." When chided because he has never taken love seriously, he begins a tirade against women:

> Women! They're made of whimsies and caprice, So varient and so wild, that, ty'd to a God, They'd

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[11]Barker, p. 28.

> dally with the devil for a change.--Rather than wed a European dame, I'd take a Squaw o' the woods and get papooses.[12]

Even a person unfamiliar with the history of Rolfe's relationship with Pocahontas can see that here is a young man who is about to fall in love with an Indian girl. Rolfe certainly does not disappoint us in this expectation. Upon meeting the Indian princess, he is immediately smitten with her, as she is with him, and they are soon seen declaring their love. Rolfe does not appear frequently in Barker's drama, but he is adequately individualized to make him credible.

The historical Indians who appear in Barker's play--Pocahontas, her father Powhatan, and her brother Nantaquas--are depicted as the friendly natives who are representative depictions of the noble savage. It is true that in the course of the action Powhatan agrees to the death of Smith and to an attack upon the English settlement, but this action occurs only after he has been swayed in his thinking by the trickery of the villainous Miami and by the clever oratory of the Indian priest, Grimosco. In each case, Powhatan afterwards becomes remorseful. Nantaquas, as always, is depicted as a true friend of the English, but Pocahontas--the sweet, simple, unsophisticated child of the forest who possesses the qualities of mercy and pity in an

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[12]Barker, Pocahontas, p. 24.

unrestrained and inestimable degree--is really the most fully drawn character in the piece. She is certainly not a typical Indian maiden, but she is, nevertheless, the most interesting character in the play. As we have seen earlier, when we first meet her, she is repentant over the shooting of a flamingo and vows never to use her bow again. These sentiments seem to be rather too civilized and merciful to be expressed by a savage girl. She also scorns to marry Miami because he is too fierce. Her speech to her father when Smith is about to be executed is typical of a mode of speech which is more sophisticated than savage:

> Oh, do not warriors, do not! Father, incline your heart to mercy; he will win your battles, he will vanquish your enemies. [First signal] Warriors are you brave? Preserve the brave man! [Second signal] Miami, priest, sing the song of peace; ah! strike not, hold! Mercy![13]

She rushes distractedly to the block, presses Smith's head to her bosom:

> White man thou shalt not die; or I will die with thee! My father, dost thou love thy daughter? Listen to her voice; look upon her tears; they ask for mercy to the captive. Is thy child dear to thee, my father? Thy child will die with the white man.[14]

In general the girl depicted here is more European than Indian and seems almost too easily convinced that her life as a pagan before she became a Christian was all for nought.

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[13]Barker, Pocahontas, p. 29.

[14]Ibid.

All things considered, The Indian Princess is a rather well-constructed drama. Barker, because he was acutely aware of the theatrical demands for a climax near the end of his work, shrewdly diverted the major interest of the play away from the scene in which Pocahontas rescued Captain Smith and rearranged events so that the warning given Smith concerning the imminent danger of an Indian attack would occur at the appropriate moment to serve as the drama's climax. Also a humorous thread is maintained throughout the play by no less than five pairs of lovers who are introduced into the action. In her chief love scene with Rolfe, Pocahontas is impressive as her normal prosaic mode of speech suddenly gives way to poetry and she vows to her suitor:

> Thou art my life!
> I lived not till I saw thee love; and
> now
> I live not in thy absence. Long, Oh!
> Long
> I was the savage child of savage Nature;
> And when her flowers sprang up; while
> each green bough
> Sang with the passing west wind's
> rustling breath;
> When her warm visitor, flush'd Summer,
> came,
> Or Autumn strew'd his yellow leaves
> around,
> Or the shrill north wind pip'd his
> mournful music,
> I saw the changing brow of my wild
> mother
> With neither love nor dread. But now,
> O! now,
> I could entreat her for eternal smiles,
> So thou might'st range through groves of
> loveliest flowers,

> Where never Winter, with his icy lip
> Should dare to press thy cheek.[15]

The tenderness and simplicity of the love shared by Pocahontas and Rolfe is constantly played against the humor derived from four other pairs of bucolic lovers who, in a romantic pattern that is very much like that found in Shakespeare's As You Like It, almost overshadow such highly charged melodramatic moments in the play as those which occur when Smith is rescued in Act II and when the treachery of Miami and Grimosco is thwarted once and for all in the final scene of the play.

Almost as an afterthought, Barker ends his play on a patriotic note which brings his drama full circle. That is to say, the opening lines of the play were devoted to the praise of the beauties of the Virginia landscape; the ending of the play is devoted to Smith's projection of what he foresees as being the destiny of this new land:

> Joy to ye, gentle lovers, joy to all. A goodly circle, and a fair. Methinks Wild Nature smooths apace her savage frown, Moulding her features to a social smile. Now flies my hope-wing'd fancy o'er the gulf That lies between us and the aftertime, When this fine portion of the glove shall teem With civiliz'd society; when arts, And industry, and elegance shall reign, As the shrill war-cry of the savage man Yields to the jocund shepherd's roundelay. Oh, enviable country! thus disjoin'd From old licentious Europe! may'st thou rise, Free from those bonds which fraud and superstition In barbarous ages have enchain'd her with; Bidding the

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[15]Barker, Pocahontas, III.ii.43-57, pp. 51-52.

antique world with wonder view A great, yet virtuous empire in the west![16]

James Nelson Barker, then, is to the Pocahontas drama what John Davis a few years earlier had been to the Pocahontas novel. Barker was the first dramatist to capitalize upon those romantic episodes from early American history which involved John Smith, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe. The most immediate fruit of his efforts was a very entertaining play which was widely produced in the theatres of America during the early decades of the nineteenth century. An even more important historical effect of Barker's efforts, however, arose from the fact that he had introduced a new theme to American drama which would be handled again and again by American playwrights from Barker's time until our own.

After Barker's play, The Indian Princess, the next treatment of the Pocahontas theme by an American dramatist appeared in 1829 when Albert M. Gilliam's unpublished work, Virginia, or Love and Bravery, was produced on the Richmond stage.[17] Gilliam, a native of that Virginia city, may have been guided to the topic of his play by recent productions in Richmond of Barker's play. It may have been, however, that as a native son he may have had an independent interest

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[16]Barker, Pocahontas, pp. 73-74.

[17]For references to this work see, Martin Staples Shockley, "American Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819-1838," Studies in Philology, 37 (Jan., 1940), 100-19.

in the early history of his home state. Whether or not Barker's play had much influence on Gilliam's drama, or any at all for that matter, is impossible for one to determine since no known copy of the latter work has been preserved. Our knowledge of the fact that such a play existed at all is based, then, upon advertisements, short excerpts, and brief reviews of the work that are to be found in Richmond newspapers that were published on or about May 27, 1829, and June 6 of the same year--the two dates when Gilliam's play was performed in that city. It is altogether probable that the two Richmond productions were the only performances of Gilliam's Pocahontas play. From an advertisement in The Compiler which appeared on May 27, 1829, one may learn about the cast of the first performance of Gilliam's opus. There are six English and six Indian characters in the cast of the play, and upon further examination one may note that, like Barker, Gilliam has a blend of historical and fictitious figures in his dramatis personae. The most interesting aspect of Gilliam's casting, however, is to be seen in the fact that John Rolfe appears not at all in this play. One may thus conjecture that this playwright only deals with the story of Pocahontas up to that point where she rescues John Smith or that he certainly goes no farther than Smith's departure from the colony. Gilliam, himself, assumed the very favorable role of Nantaquans [sic], the noble son of Powhatan, and John A. Stone played the part of Captain Smith.

Mr. Thomas Flynn, who took a part in the drama's first performance, composed a song which was sung in the play by his wife:

> And Oh! shall it never again be my lot
> Enraptured to gaze on my sweet little cot?
> Where e'er I roam, there's no place I see
> So dear to my bosom, so lovely as thee
> Home, Home, Sweet, Sweet Home--
> There's no place like Home, there's no place like Home.
>
> How sweet 'tis to sit beneath a Father's fond smile,
> The cares of a mother to soothe and beguile;
> Let others delight, mid new pleasures to roam
> But give me, Ah! give me the Pleasures of Home,
> Home, Home, Sweet, Sweet Home--
> There's no place like Home, there's no place like Home.

This song, with its very evident origins, was printed in The Whig in Richmond on June 10, 1829. Clair, or the Maid of Milan, John Howard Payne's play which contained the original, had been performed in Richmond in November, 1828 and in January, 1829. If this excerpt is typical of the remainder of Gilliam's play, perhaps it is a drama that is well lost.

The popularity of the Indian themes in general and of the romance of Pocahontas in particular led George Washington Parke Custis, the grandson of George Washington's wife Martha, to contribute yet another version of the Indian

princess's story, Pocahontas; or The Settlers of Virginia,[18] which appeared in 1830, some twenty-two years after Barker's first dramatic treatment of the theme. This dramatic piece--generally, but much more loosely, based upon episodes from Smith's Generall Historie--was first produced at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia on January 16, 1830, and proved to be very popular--a fact that is evidenced by its unusual maiden run of twelve successive nights.[19]

Unlike other early dramatists who handled this theme, Custis departed boldly from his primary source of information--Smith--when he felt that the expediency of his drama dictated such a course. Exercising the prerogative of the playwright, this author arranged the historical action of his drama so that the saving of Smith's life became the climactic end of the piece. Seven Englishmen and a like number of Indians people Custis's play in a setting that is entirely Virginian. As the drama opens a party of Englishmen, which includes Smith, Rolfe, and Percy, is preparing to land while Matacoran and Selictaz, Indian braves, and Barclay, the only white survivor of a previous English attempt at colonization, look on with

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[18]George Washington Parke Custis, Pocahontas, or, the Settlers of Virginia, A National Drama, in Three Acts in A. H. Quinn, Representative American Plays 1767 to the Present Day, 7th ed. rev. and enlarged (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953), pp. 167-192.

[19]Ibid., p. 168.

contrasting feelings of apprehension and joy. Indian animosity is expressed at once by Matacoran, who hates the English for their former injustices. Pocahontas, on the other hand, is introduced to the whites early in the drama, and her friendship toward these newcomers is voiced openly. She meets Rolfe almost immediately and their romance begins. After establishing themselves at the Jamestown settlement, Smith and his party lose no time in going to Powhatan's village to present him with gifts and to crown him.[20] Powhatan pledges friendship, but is easily swayed against the English soon after their departure by the Indian schemer, Matacoran, who is also a suitor for the hand of Pocahontas. Because she is friendly to the white man, Powhatan decides to send Pocahontas away to prevent her from interfering with his scheme to massacre all the English. Rolfe is warned by Barclay, who sends him a message concealed in a piece of fruit, that Pocahontas is in danger, and the young Englishman thwarts an attempt by Namontac to capture the Indian princess. This leaves her free to overhear her father's plan and to warn the colonists of impending attack. The Indians attack the settlers but are repulsed. Smith, however, is made captive, is taken to

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[20]Note that this is one of the first major shifts in Smith's chronology that Custis makes. In Smith's account the "Coronation" of Powhatan takes place long after the "rescue scene." Here, however, these two events are reversed.

Powhatan's village, and is sentenced to be executed. Pocahontas attempts to intercede and after her very pathetic pleas get no results, she throws herself between Smith and the executioner's club and resolves to die with him. Only at this point is Powhatan moved to relent. He pardons Smith, pledges his friendship to the white settlers, and consents to the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe. In the meantime, Matacoran has been brought into Powhatan's court in a prisoner's shackles. In return for Powhatan's kindness in pardoning Smith, a similar act of friendship and pardon is offered to Matacoran by the colonists. So bitter is the rancor of this Indian brave, however, that he refuses the white man's friendship and flees the scene resolving never to accept the English ways though he be driven into the western seas in his flight from their culture.

Custis's play, written altogether in prose, is interestingly unique because of the artistry he brings to the piece. As has already been suggested, this author takes bold liberties with Smith's original accounts. He selects his material with a careful eye toward the dramatic, and ignores Smith's chronological-historic order of events as he arranges the incidents which he has chosen in a skillful, climactic sequence that allows the rescue scene--clearly the most dramatic episode in the piece--to come appropriately at the end of the play. The result of all this manipulation is more unity, heightened interest, and greater dramatic

suspense. Although there are a few instances where lighter, more frivolous lines are allowed to invade the dialogue--as for example, when the other settlers tease Rolfe about his romantic interest in Pocahontas, on the whole the tone of Custis's drama is serious throughout. Possibly such a sustained tone which allows for little or no comic relief is one of the play's liabilities in spite of the fact that it lends a greater unity to the play.

In the characters that Custis projects in his play, Captain Smith remains consistent with Barker's depiction of him, but Pocahontas is far from being the same character that was drawn in the earlier play. Gone is Barker's unsophisticated, naive Indian child, for Custis portrays her as a beautiful, mature, intelligent young woman of conviction, who, under the tutelage of Barclay, has already embraced Christianity and renounced her savage religion, customs, and mode of thought when the play opens.

Although Pocahontas, as one finds her in Custis's play, is more sophisticated than she has been in any of the previous presentations of her either in the realm of fact or fiction, passages which clearly express the philosophy of primitivism, even though less frequent, are still present in this work. Rolfe, for example, in a long soliloquy in the third scene of the first act of the play, praises the wild, picturesque scenery, the bodies of water, and the animal life of this New World setting and draws a negative

comparison between this "vast and splendid park" and "our European pleasure grounds." Again he is equally extravagant in his praise of Pocahontas:

> How full of grace and courtesy is this princess--savage, should I say. By my faith and such damsels of the savage court, shall need all the advantages of our civilization when we appear before them.[21]

And speaking on the same subject Rolfe remarks: "Tho of dark complexion, who is well favored in both form and feature, of admir'd carriage, courteous and discrete in discourse."[22] How much of this pleasing quality in the Indian princess is the product of Barclay's tutoring cannot be determined. It is, however, left to Namontac, an Indian just returned to America after a sojourn of several years in England, to express the primitivistic philosophy most accurately as he says:

> The sun shines for the last time upon Namontac the English. Its morning beams will cheer him while roaming in his native forests, seeking the favorite haunts of his youth, dress'd in the garb of his country, his limbs will again become vigorous and elastic, he will be swift as the deer of the hills, his heart will be light as the feathers of his plume; such will soon be Namontac the Indian; Namontac the English will be no more.[23]

Against all of these positive projections of the wilderness setting and of the noble savages, however, one Indian, Matacoran, stands throughout the play as an example of the

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[21]Custis, p. 177.

[22]Ibid., p. 178.

[23]Ibid., p. 176.

popular conception of the bad Indian, of the savage who--though he has some positive qualities--lacks those attributes that would make him truly noble.

Any discussion of Custis's play should mention the verbose quality of the dialogue, which is probably the weakest literary feature of this drama. It also must be said against the play that a number of the speeches are too long and that the language is often bombastic. For example, consider the speech which Pocahontas makes as she decides to take sides against her people and to warn Smith and Rolfe of the impending Indian attack:

> What have I heard! treachery and massacre against those whom they so lately receiv'd with every shew of hospitality and kindness. And Matacoran--he the brave and noble--and the reward of his achievement to be the hand of Pocahontas. No chieftain, no. When Pocahontas rewards courage it must be unmixed with treachery. Namontac's conduct is explain'd. What is to be done? Can I fly to the English whom Selictaz leads on to sacrifice? The bands of Metacoran beset the path on every side; the river is the only hope. [A flash of lightning.] Ha! a storm is brewing, and how will these little hands, us'd only to guide the canoe in sportive race on a smooth and glossy surface, wage its struggling way, when raging billows uprear their foamy crests? Brave English gallant, courteous Rolfe. [Thunders] Night comes on apace--Oh, night of horror! [Clasps her hands and looks up to heaven as if in prayer.] Thank thee good Spirit; I feel thy holy influence on my heart. English Rolfe I will save thee, or Pocahontas be no more.[24]

Such passages as this abound throughout the play, and such a tendency toward wordiness in highly charged dramatic

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[24]Custis, pp. 184-85.

situations almost disastrously impedes the action which otherwise has been plotted very nicely to a climax. Although Barker's play was, no doubt, more delightfully entertaining, technically speaking, Custis wrote by far the better Pocahontas drama--but a drama flawed by its author's tendency toward wordiness and the "spread-eagle" oratorical stance which was assumed by his characters in moments of stress.

Even though it was not their major source of livelihood in most instances, in one way or another the authors of the early Pocahontas plays--those written before the Civil War--were closely connected to the professional theatre. James Nelson Barker, with encouragement from William Dunlap, led a fight for the establishment of a native American drama. George Washington Parke Custis wrote more than one successful historical drama. Charlotte Barnes and John Brougham, whose plays will be the subject of discussion later in the present essay, spent their entire lives in theatrical circles. In contrast Robert Dale Owen, reformer, editor, statesman, educator, and diplomat, penned only one play, Pocahontas: A Historical Drama, which appeared in 1837.

Born in Glasgow as the son of a philanthropist, reformer, and industrialist, Robert Dale Owen spent his formative years in a quiet, refined, but extremely religious atmosphere where the chief influences were the philanthropy

of his father and grandfather and the optimistic philosophy of his father. When Robert Dale was twenty-four, his father--wanting to give his social theories a practical trial and learning that the people of George Rapp's communistic colony at New Harmony, Indiana, wished to leave the state--bought the thirty thousand acres as a site for an experimental community. Thus in November of 1825, the younger Owen arrived in the United States and soon busied himself as a teacher in the fine New Harmony school and with editing the New Harmony Gazette. New Harmony failed as a utopian experiment, but Owen maintained his progressive ideas concerning theology, education, women's rights, humane conditions in prisons, and other reform movements. During his first sojourn at New Harmony, Owen became closely acquainted with Fanny Wright, who like himself was a transplanted Britisher, and who was an outspoken champion of women's rights. Owen left New Harmony in 1829 and having spent some time first in New York during which he edited The Free Enquirer and acquired a wife and then in London, where he joined his father as the editor of The Crisis, the young couple finally traveled to New Harmony in 1832. Owen was elected to the state legislature in Indiana and became involved in the Thespian Society of New Harmony, a group which produced amateur theatricals in the community. It is altogether probable that Owen's Pocahontas was at least partly due to his association with this group.

Owen prefaced his play with an instructive "Introductory Essay, Touching the Influence of Historical, Especially of Dramatic Fiction," which reveals much about the author's motives for writing Pocahontas. Having first commented on the interest which people have in narrative, fiction, and national tradition and on his belief that the finest history is more than dry recollection of facts, Owen noted," that history is the most valuable which the best supplies, for the past, what contact with society affords, for the present."[25] Although well written history may, to some degree, accomplish this aim, the novelist--Owen believed--and especially the dramatist speaks to the eye, and his product is even nearer the truth than that of the best historian.[26] With these considerations in mind, Owen turned his hand to the composition of a historical drama on the Pocahontas theme.

Approaching his subject in a scholarly manner, Owen supplied his readers with copious notes in support of the incidents, speeches, and customs that are included in the play. Trusting Smith's history implicitly, he follows it very closely, although he could have added to the interest and unity of his drama by altering the historical

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[25][Robert Dale Owen] "A Citizen of the West," Pocahontas: A Historical Drama in Five Acts (New York: George Dearborn, 1837), p. 10.

[26]Ibid., pp. 11-14.

data in the way that George Washington Custis had done some seven years earlier. The additions which Owen did make are few in number and even those that he made are slight in nature. The two non-historical characters that he introduces into his play are minor ones. Out of all this fidelity to his sources, Owen accomplished his purpose--to exhibit a faithful episode out of our country's early history; but he failed to produce stageable drama. The play, by Owen's own admission, is too long, and it is often tedious. It shows no real selection of materials, and therefore it lacks unity. The monotonous narration, the introduction of inconsequential squabbles among the colonists, and the elaboration of details destroy interest and suspense. The rescue, the play's most dramatic incident, comes too early in the action as it occurs in the third scene of Act two. The slowly developed Rolfe-Pocahontas love theme is forced to sustain the play from the point of the rescue up to its conclusion, with skirmishes between the English and the Indians and among the colonists themselves interspersed. Those scenes, which should have been related with vigor and spirit, are told rather listlessly. Such are the criticisms that were leveled against Owen's play by conservative Eastern editors, who at first had praised the piece, but who had turned their scorn upon it when they learned that the author who had signed his play as "a Citizen of the West" was really

the socialistic Mr. Owen.[27] Part of such comment was certainly due to editorial bias; but much of it was a good critical evaluation of Owen's performance in certain aspects of his only venture as a playwright.

Owen does, however, introduce several features into his play that had not been utilized before. The colonists engage in new activities such as twisting matches of tow, testing minerals for gold, and hunting bears and panthers, thus lending to the work a deeper sense of life in the settlement. Hans Krabhuis, the malcontent Dutch carpenter and gunner who turned traitor by leaguing with the Indians, is also met here for the first time in the Pocahontas dramas. To the confusion of the less than careful reader, the author sends Smith on two trips of exploration, from the first of which he returns safely to find the colonists ready to foresake the settlement and return home to England. It is on the second trip that the captain is captured and saved by the merciful intercession of Pocahontas. Also contrary to history and all previous fictions, Owen has Smith receive the wound which dictates his return to England not from an accidental explosion of gunpowder, but while he is fighting with Archer over the release of Pocahontas, who has been seized and held as a hostage. According to this play, then,

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[27]For a discussion of this point see Richard William Leopold, Robert Dale Owen: A Biography in The Harvard Historical Series, XLV (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 137-38.

the English captain overstayed his time in Virginia; for Pocahontas was not taken captive or wooed by Rolfe, according to historical accounts, until some three years after Smith left the country.

In Owen's play, the colonists are all fairly well delineated. Most of them have distinctive characteristics. All of the settlers are men with the exception of Anne Burras, who is a quick-witted, fun-loving, and impetuous young woman. Captain Smith, who is portrayed as having all the qualities of a good Indiana Democrat, has many of the characteristics of Owen himself. One passage in particular reflects the author's nationalism:

> Smith to Ratcliffe and Archer: Albeit this land conceal not, in her bosom, Rich mine of gold, or bed of orient pearl; Albeit Arabia's perfumes breathe not out From her primeval forests; not Cathay's Odorous spices load her green savanahs; Yet she is blessed with better riches--such As make a nation prosperous and great; With soil, as rich as India's self can boast; Forests, might build a navy for the world; And noble rivers, an untaxed highway, Down whose wide-spreading waters, in rude craft, The wealth of provinces may sagely glide. A sun, that's warm and bright; a territory That stretches from the tropic to the pole. Needs but the hand of industry, and here Cities may rise, shall rival Europe's marts, And States spring up, shall, one day bear away The palm of greatness from the Eastern world.[28]

In this same passage are found the influences of Owen's industrial background and of his life in America.

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[28]Owen, pp. 10-11.

In dealing with the love theme, Owen introduces a situation which is to be found in no other drama that is based on the Pocahontas story. In some fictions Pocahontas loves Smith and is not loved in return. In all of them where Rolfe appears, he assumes the role of the lover of Pocahontas. In Owen's play, on the other hand, Pocahontas, who never considers Smith as anything more than as a father image, is loved by the English captain. The attempt to show the daring captain as a lover, however, is not very successful. From John Rolfe's first meeting with the Indian maid, it is clear to all that he and Pocahontas will love each other. Indeed, the devices that are employed to pre-figure this love are almost too obvious to be credible. Since Rolfe is a rather unexciting young man, our chief interest in him is the fact that he is loved by Pocahontas.

The portrayal of the Indian character is the highpoint of Owen's Pocahontas. The very language that is used by his Indians seems to capture the rhythms of the native speech, and it may be argued that even if this piece was not successful drama, it is certainly an excellent study in primitivism. Owen obviously had the primitivistic philosophy and the concept of the noble savage in mind much of the time during the composition of his play. He repeatedly has various colonists react positively to the sublimity of a particularly impressive aspect of the landscape or has Captain Smith remark that he would be sorry

to "see the noble savage bend his knee" in some "royal ante-chamber."[29] Powhatan, in spite of the fact that he is crafty and often motivated by revenge, remains an attractive figure. Pocahontas, introduced during a shooting match with her sister, Nomony, is as charming as usual. In the famous rescue scene, her position is made less prominent by the added emphasis which is placed on Captain Smith's speeches, but this image of an ego-centered English captain is in keeping with Owen's attempt at strict adherence to Smith's accounts. The princess has greater importance in other episodes than she does in this most famous one. One even sees more than a trace of Fanny Wright's stance on women's rights in the character of Owen's heroine as she asks:

> Is't not good to feel Something within, that tells me, I am born To aid, but not to slave; to stand beside, Not crouch behind the Chief who says he loves me?[30]

And before this she had inquired:

> Nomony! thinkest thou Woman was made to be the friend to man, To share man's confidence--win his respect--To be--to be--his Equal? That's the word. Are not these strange--strange thoughts?[31]

From the first scene to the last, Owen's depiction of Pocahontas is particularly appealing. Perhaps this is the most redeeming quality of this play

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[29]Owen, p. 183.

[30]Ibid., p. 168.

[31]Ibid., p. 167.

which never seemed to have very wide appeal either as staged or as closet drama. In his later, deranged years, however, its author considered this to be the greatest drama ever written.[32]

Charlotte Barnes had spent all of her life as a member of a theatrically oriented family. Her father, John Barnes, and her mother, Mary, both were quite successful actors--he as a low comedian and she as the leading actress at the Park Theatre in New York. Indeed, it was Charlotte Barnes' mother who had originally created the role of Pocahontas when George Washington Custis's Pocahontas; or, the Settlers of Virginia was first produced on the New York stage in 1830. At the age of three, Miss Barnes had already made her first appearances on the stage as the child of her natural mother, and, with visions of greatness for his daughter, her father tried hard to make of her "by art what her mother was by nature--a fine tragic actress."[33] With this sort of background and with her memories of her mother in the role of the Indian princess, Pocahontas, it is not surprising that in 1844, shortly before her marriage, we find Miss Barnes penning a play entitled The Forest Princess, or Two Centuries

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[32]Leopold, p. 409.

[33]George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927-), IV, p. 303.

Ago.[34] This play, unlike the other Pocahontas plays that have been examined up to this juncture, was produced first on the English stage in 1844 and was not staged in America, at Burton's Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia, until February, 1848.[35] Although this author's memory of her mother in the title role of Custis's Pocahontas play may have provided some degree of inspiration in prompting her to write this drama, Miss Barnes tells us in the remarks which preface her work that her interest derives from the fact that the red man in general and Pocahontas in particular are deserving of attention. With regard to the latter she argues:

> Considered in her individual career, Pocahontas stands forth from first to last the animated type of mercy and peace, unselfishness and truth. Her benevolence, (of which the limits of this play can record but a small part) is neither a momentary impulse nor a cold system of utility: it is a warm, all-pervading and abiding principle. Her life was pure, active, and affectionate: her "beautiful, godly, and Christian death" was a theme of praise to all beholders.[36]

With this sort of thumbnail prospectus in mind, one can

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[34]Charlotte Barnes, The Forest Princess, or Two Centuries Ago in Plays, Prose, and Poetry (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler, 1848), pp. 145-270.

[35]According to A. H. Wilson, A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1835-1855 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), p. 577, this play was first presented in America on February 15. Quinn, A History, p. 273, says, however, that the date of the first performance at the Archer Street Theatre was on February 16, 1848.

[36]Barnes, p. 147.

easily predict the sort of play that Miss Barnes intends to write. Feeling the nationalistic impulse in the drama of her time, this author continues here the reaction of those who rebelled against putting an American plot in a foreign setting. She turned to native material, an American scene, and a story important to American history. Yet, although she chose native material for her theme, Miss Barnes' main interest in the Pocahontas story was probably centered in its romantic aspects.

The Forest Princess is a single drama in three parts, but it assumes more of the character of three one-act plays. Each part has a different setting and each has its own series of events which leads to a definite climax in the final scene. At the end of Act I Pocahontas saves Smith; at the end of Act II the wedding of John Rolfe and Pocahontas occurs; and at the end of the final act of the play, Pocahontas's untimely death is depicted in a highly moving romantic scene. The place that serves as the setting of Part Three of the drama--England--is different from that of Parts One and Two--Virginia. This choice of backdrop is in keeping with the presentation of the story which one finds in Smith's accounts, but it is unique in that no previous Pocahontas play had pursued the action outside of Virginia. A few new characters also grace the various parts of Miss Barnes' play, but in every case they are minor ones. All this, however, is not to suggest a complete lack

of unity in The Forest Princess. In general this drama projects a sense of cohesiveness as it deals with a definite epoch in American history--the first decade of a new nation's being permanently brought under the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture. It may further be observed in examining Miss Barnes' play that the principal characters--Smith, Pocahontas, Rolfe, Todkill, and Volday--project a rather static image in all three segments of the action. The Switzer, Volday, for example, remains the villain and schemer throughout the play as he corrupts Powhatan's mind against the English in Act I, incites the settlers to mutiny against Smith's leadership in Act II, and conspires to have Rolfe imprisoned for treason in Act III. As is true in all of the Pocahontas plays, however, the Indian princess is the real basis of the play's unity. For it is around her natural magnanimity--her devotion to doing good deeds and to the perpetuity of Captain Smith and the English settlers--that the whole play is built. On the whole, then, Miss Barnes has skillfully woven three meritorious short plays into one long blank-verse drama which offers the reader or viewer a demonstration of the positive qualities that are to be achieved by employing a well-developed sense of how properly to handle a dramatic situation on the stage. In speaking of the innovations that this author brought to her play, one can hardly ignore Miss Barnes' inclusion of the events surrounding King James'

displeasure over Rolfe's marriage to an Indian princess without first obtaining royal permission. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, this aspect of the Pocahontas story was heavily stressed by late eighteenth and early nineteenth century American historians who wanted to project the idea that the typical personality of an English monarch was that of a "pompous ass" who was ever jealous of his authority. This image is reflected somewhat in Miss Barnes' play, but to an even greater degree, the image of Volday as villain is intensified by his role in stirring up the royal displeasure which is leveled against Rolfe. Miss Barnes' play really has no political axes to grind but merely aims at melodrama based on heroes and villains and at depicting the basic struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil which always is resolved with poetic justice in mind.

The characters in The Forest Princess are not particularly well drawn. Volday, for example, is nothing more than a typed character--the typical melodramatic villain. "Good" characters in this play are too pure, too completely admirable to be credible, but none--save Pocahontas--has any depth or great individuality. And what of the Indian maid? Miss Barnes' treatment of Powhatan's daughter is tender, sympathetic, idealistic, and romantic--in a word, almost too sweet for the modern palate. But aside from those devoted to the glorification of her

heroine, no really primitivistic passages are to be found in the play. This lack, occurring as it does in 1844, is symptomatic of the fact that the cult of the noble savage had lost some of its popular appeal by this time and tells us that the Pocahontas theme, as well as other Indian subjects in American drama, is about ready for the burlesquer's hand.[37]

An interesting enough play so far as plot and characters are concerned, Miss Barnes' drama seems to lose some of its merit by the inclusion of an almost forced ultra-patriotic motif represented in Act III by dreams and visions which are attributed to the drama's heroine but which hardly serve the plot. In Pocahontas's vision of America's promise as a nation, the figures of Washington and the Genius of Columbus are somehow caught up in an allegorical grouping of the Lion and the Eagle who are encircled within the arms of Peace.[38] All of this highblown symbolism is completely out of place in Miss Barnes' work since it has a tendency to break the spell of the earthy quality that permeates the rest of the play.

In summary, then, one may say that Charlotte Barnes was not trying in The Forest Princess to expound on new

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[37]See Quinn, History, p. 275 for a discussion of this.

[38]See Roy H. Pearce, The Savages of America, rev. ed. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 174-75.

ideas, to present a primitivistic philosophy, to give a picture of a period, or purely to give vent to self-expression. Though her work is technically sound at times, she was not particularly interested in technique alone. Based on her theatrical training and on her dramatic instincts, she wanted to provide an entertaining evening in the theatre, perhaps to provide a good role for herself, and, certainly, to tell the life story of a woman who seemed to her to be important, interesting, and romantic. Although at times the author failed to make the best use of her material, this play has some appeal because of the picturesqueness of the story and remains interesting to the serious student of American literature because it represents the last completely serious Pocahontas play to be written in the nineteenth century.

With the examination of Miss Barnes' Pocahontas play, then, one comes to the end of that series of dramas which completely devoted itself to a glorification of the Indian princess and to the projection of the image of the noble savage which held such vogue on the American stage during the first half of the nineteenth century. This is not to say, however, that the Pocahontas theme was no longer a viable subject for the American playwright after 1850. Just the opposite is true. For, even though after Miss Barnes' effort the Indian princess is to be treated with much less reverence--knocked off her pedestal, so to

speak, she is to gain her widest popular appeal as she appears in John Brougham's burlesque, Po-Ca-Hon-Tas, or The Noble Savage, which was first staged in 1855. Indeed, this kind of treatment of the Pocahontas story, might have been expected, for it was in keeping with the general taste of the time which saw popular plays, poems, and personages become the grist for the American burlesquers' mill during the middle third of the nineteenth century.[39] In writing or staging any sort of burlesque or parody, John Brougham was such a master that Laurence Hutton dubs him as the "Aristophanes" of the American stage.[40] From his first appearance in America in 1842 until his death in 1880, Brougham was one of the most successful actors and playwrights of the period. Impressive as he was as a comic actor, particularly in Irish roles, Brougham showed even greater talent and considerable wit in the seventy-five or more plays that were written by him.[41] These show him to

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[39]See, for example, such ridiculous mockery or parody as: the anonymous take off on Bulwer-Lytton's The Lady of Lyon which appeared in 1842 as The Lady of Iron; Charles M. Walcot's burlesque of Longfellow's The Song of Hiawatha which he called Hi-A-Wa-Tha; or, Ardent Spirits and Laughing Waters (1856); or a Southern version of Boucicault's Octoroon called The Moctoroon which appeared during the early 1860's.

[40]Laurence Hutton, Curiosities of the American Stage (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891), p. 164.

[41]Walter J. Meserve and William R. Reardon, eds. "Introduction" to Satiric Comedies in America's Lost Plays, XXI (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1969), p. xiv.

be one of the most--if not the most--able writers in the area of farce-comedy and parody in nineteenth century America. For, more than anything else, Brougham is generally remembered in our day because, with his quite innovative Met-A-Mor-A; or the Last of the Pollywogs (1847) and with his even more popular Po-Ca-Hon-Tas; or the Gentle Savage (1855), he almost single-handedly brought an end to the tremendously popular sentimental-romantic plays which celebrated the heroic character of the American Indian.

On Christmas eve of 1855 Po-Ca-Hon-Tas opened at Walleck's Theatre in New York and was immediately a "howling" success with the general audience as well as with the critics. "A most uproarious burlesque," wrote one critic in the New York Daily Times, "written by that most uproarious of actors Mr. John Brougham . . . [who has always met] with decided and deserved success."[42] Odell called it, "the biggest success of the Winter here or anywhere."[43] And speaking in retrospect Arthur Hornblow says that it was "one of the most successful burlesques of

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[42]This critic must have read the play before its first performance and based his judgment on this sort of contact with the work, for his critique appeared in the December 24, 1855, issue of the Daily Times, p. 4. This was probably printed during the day before the first performance of the play that evening.

[43]Odell, VI, p. 433.

its kind ever seen on the American stage."[44] Wherever this play was performed it received critical acclaim and audience approval, and Brougham--being the knowledgeable showman that he was--made the most of its popularity throughout his career.

The complete title of Brougham's "uproariously" comic treatment of the Pocahontas theme is: Po-Ca-Hon-Tas: or, The Gentle Savage--An Original Aboriginal Eratic Operatic Semi-Civilized and Demi-Savage Extravaganza, being a Per-Version of Ye Trewe and Wonderefulle Hystorie of Ye Renownned Princess. In Two Acts.[45] And this titular description exaggerates very little; for the author truly attempts to satisfy every expectation aroused by the title of his play. Throughout the drama there is a constant emphasis on the terms "Original," "Per-Version," "Operatic," and "Extravaganza." From the Dramatis Personae--where odd Indian names such as "Ip-Pah-Kak" or "Kod-Liv-Royl" are supplied for braves and "O-You-Jewel" or "Lum-Pa-Suga" for maids who attend the "Tuscarora Fashionable Finishing School" complete with comic descriptions of major characters to set the mood for what is to follow--to the Grande Finale of the piece, a constant variety of comic technique is

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[44]Arthur Hornblow, A History of the Theatre in America, II (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919), p. 188.

[45]John Brougham, Po-Ca-Hon-Tas in French's American Drama Series #28 (New York: Samuel French, n.d.).

employed by the author to "make 'em laugh, make 'em laugh." From the first line of the play until the final curtain, one finds an everpresent blend of music, song, and recitative which is to be presented with much gravity after the manner of the Italian opera and which is supplied with lyrics that become even more ridiculous in the face of the music's mock-serious tone. Add to this quality other properties of the comic opera or play such as absurd characters and situations; alliterations, false rhymes (such line-end couplings as "Utopian" and "European;" "Community" and "opera-tunity;" or "prison" and "his'n" are not uncommon in this play), puns and other forms of word play, and comic use of the octosyllabic couplet itself; parody; allusion to contemporary persons and their activities; bombast and anachronisms, and you have all the ingredients of a funny play. Bind all of this together within a framework which consists of passages of real wit, and you have a comic masterpiece. Seemingly this was Brougham's comic formula, and in Po-Ca-Hon-Tas he very nearly produced the masterpiece at which he aimed. Unlike most plays which act well but read poorly, or vice versa, Brougham's Po-Ca-Hon-Tas is equally delightful whether it is read or staged.

The "Proglegomena" (Prologue) of Brougham's Po-Ca-Hon-Tas is a parody of those provided for the more serious historical dramas which had been thoroughly documented by their creators.

> The deeply interesting incident upon which this Drama is founded occurred in Virginia on Wednesday, October 12, A.D. 1607, at twenty-six minutes past four in the afternoon, according to the somewhat highly colored and boastful narration of Captain John Smith, the famous adventurer, backed by the concurrent testimony of contemporaneous history; but subsequent research has proved that either he was mistaken, or that circumstance had unwarrantably plagiarized an affair which transpired at a much earlier date; for upon examining the contents of a wallet found in the vest pocket of the man of armor, dug up near Cape Cod, an entire epic poem was discovered upon the very same subject, which was written by a Danish Poet, the Chevalier Viking, Long Fellow of the Norwegian Academy of Music, who flourished Anno Gothami 235.
>
> The poem contains several square yards of verse, a fragment of which is subjoined to show its peculiar Finnish.[46]

Then follows "The Song of Pocahontas," a fairly readable parody of Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha" which sums up Smith's account of the rescue and its antecedant action.

The narrative thread of Brougham's Pocahontas play is, of course, slight; for it is too frequently broken by solos, duets, quartets, choruses, and bits of comic repartee which are woven into the fabric of the play for purely humorous purposes to permit it to present a very complex story.

An ardent punster, Brougham employs the council pow-wow that occurs in the very first scene of his drama to play on words:

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[46]Brougham, Po-Ca-Hon-Tas, p. 3. Since no line numbers were found in any researched text of the play line numbers will be omitted here.

KING
We take the tax off soap.

OP-DIL-DOC
Soft soap, so please your majesty I hope?

KING
No, no, that saponaceous article escapes,
We've analyzed it with Professor Mapes
And he told us in terms quite scientific,
Soft soap's considered a soft soporific.

OP-DIL
Sure it's a lie!

ALL
Order! Order!

KING
Can we believe our eyes?
We mean our ears.

OP-DIL
Are not soaps made from lyes?

KING
Oh! Ah!

GOL-O-GOG
May it please your majesty, I rise
To a question of privilege. My honorable
friend,
Being a bard himself, does not intend
An insult. May I ask in the word lie,
What vowel do you use sir, i or y?

OP-DIL
Y sir, or i sir, search the vowels
through
And find the one most consonant to you.[47]

Anachronism and topical allusion also are the bases for much of the humor which is to be found in Brougham's play. For example, in her lines:

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[47]Brougham, Po-Ca-Hon-Tas, p. 7.

> . . . I knew not why it is, but since
> I've seen
> Napoleon's life in Harper's Magazine
> My soul enthusiastic, yearns to paint
> The blissful deeds of some such warlike
> saints![48]

Pocahontas voices a desire that must have motivated many a dramatist of the period. And a bit later even the serious subject of slavery becomes a basis of word play:

> POCAHONTAS
> Who are you?
> Are you a fugitive come here to seek
> A railway underground?
>
> SMITH
> Not by a sight!
> Alas! I'm only an unhappy wight,
> Without a shade of color to excuse
> Canadian agents here to chalk my shoes,
> Therefore my passage-money won't be
> figur'd,
> For on that head Philanthropy is
> niggard.[49]

And, finally, a favorite subject of Brougham's ridicule was Edwin Forest and his Indian character, Metamora. In a classic play on words one finds Captain Smith and the princess discussing Powhatan:

> POCAHONTAS
> Have you been introduced?
>
> SMITH
> Not formally, but I've seen him though!
> I visited his majesty's abode,
> A portly savage, plump, and pigeon-toed.
> Like Metamora both in feet and feature.
> I never met-a-more-a-musing creature.[50]

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[48]Brougham, Po-Ca-Hon-Tas, p. 16.

[49]Ibid., p. 17.

[50]Ibid., p. 18.

Smith and Pocahontas fall deeply in love in Brougham's version of the story, but Powhatan has other plans for his favorite daughter. Pocahontas's girl friends at the finishing school, however, form the "Anti-marry-folks-against-their-will Society" and attempt to thwart the chief's attempt to force the princess to marry Rolff, a Dutch low comic. Smith offers to fight for his beloved, but Rolff, less romantically suggests a game of cards to determine who will wed her. Smith agrees; a quick game of pitch ensues; and Smith wins. Rolff objects that he has been "zwindled." In spite of this Smith's win is upheld much to the consternation of Powhatan, Rolff, and future historians. The victor, however, reassures his adversaries:

> Old King of Clubs you are a jolly trump.
> And don't you be so downcast, you Dutch pump;
> All future history will see you righted
> With her, in name alone, I'll be united.[51]

These brief excerpts from Brougham's play cannot begin to show the utter annihilation of everything serious or sacred about his theme since nothing but the entire play itself can give one an adequate concept of the clever puns, the wit, and the humor that he substitutes for the former seriousness with which the theme was handled by dramatists. Although its puns might be too frequent for modern taste and its allusions to contemporary persons,

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[51]Ibid., p. 32.

places, and things a bit confusing, Po-Ca-Hon-Tas is a happy play filled with song and bright humor. Its startling absurdities, gentle satire, and soft ridicule inspire nothing but laughter. It is burlesque that is so lively, so full of action, that its success on the stage is not to be wondered at.

Following Brougham's burlesque treatment of the Pocahontas theme, some two decades were to elapse before any playwright had the temerity to turn his hand to a serious treatment of the story of Captain Smith and the Indian princess. And even when this did occur, Samuel Byers' never-staged Pocahontas play, which was probably written in 1875, seems to lack the vigorous, self-assured dedication to his subject that had marked the heyday of the serious Pocahontas dramas on the American stage. Creative writing was a hobby with Byers, who had seen several years of government service--first in the Union Army during the Civil War and then as a federal civil servant who was assigned to several ambassadorial posts--and had retired to his ancestral home in Iowa when Pocahontas: A Melo-Drama in Five Acts[52] was composed.

This play, as a whole, differs from its predecessors in that it deals not so much with the usual story related about Pocahontas, Smith, and Rolfe, but merely uses these

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[52]Samuel H. M. Byers, Pocahontas: A Melo-Drama in Five Acts (N.P., n.d.), Copyright 1875.

characters as a convenient vehicle to depict the flavor of life in early Virginia. Pocahontas, the purely "melo-dramatic" heroine as she is depicted by this author, becomes the object of lust on the part of both Governor Wingfield and his chief deputy, Captain Argall. Much of the action of the play centers around the political and sexual villianies of this pair as they plot to deprive Smith of the governor's office that is rightfully his and to woo or seduce the Indian princess away from Rolfe. The sexual theme introduces a new source of discord into the story, for prior to this all references to the chicaneries of Smith and Rolfe's antagonists had traced their misdeeds to a purely political basis.

With regard to the plot line and the technical structure of Byers' play, one can hardly fail to notice this author's affinity for the situations, devices, and dramatic techniques that were so successfully employed by Shakespeare in his plays. It must be hastily added, however, that Byers shows little of his model's originality and grace in his handling of these methods. Throughout the play one finds the clown as a character who offers comic relief from serious situations and who serves as a commentator on situations that develop in the course of the action; and there are mob scenes and street processions in abundance which, though poorly done, are somewhat reminiscent of Shakespeare's

Roman plays. Furthermore, as the action progresses, it becomes evident that one of Wingfield's grievances against Smith stems from the fact that the latter had called him a Jew. As he vows to get even with his adversary by cheating him out of his rightful position as governor of the colony, Wingfield delivers a speech which recalls a similar one made by Shylock. And so it goes with Byers' attempt to produce a Shakespeare-like version of the Pocahontas story. Not only, however, does this author attempt this with regard to subject matter; he also uses what he considers to be the basic Shakespearean format as he composes an irregular blank-verse play in five acts each of which is divided into several scenes. Here again Byers fails to rival his model in his ability to handle the technique. What Byers lacks is mastery of method and sureness of touch, and these liabilities make for a play that is generally an unappealing rendering of the story.

After Byers' rather feeble effort, no other playwright attempted to write a serious Pocahontas drama in the remaining twenty-five years of the nineteenth century. Burlesque was the thing in depicting the Indian on stage. Brougham had shown writers the way, and the group of antiquarian scholars led by Charles Deane gave added encouragement to those who were prone to make fun, gentle or otherwise, of Smith, Pocahontas, or Rolfe. In 1886, utilizing such tuneful and familiar airs as "Ten Little

Indians," "Blue Bells of Scotland," "Jingle Bells," and the Virginia Reel" as a basis for his musical score, Welland Hendrick created a burlesque operetta which he named Pocahontas.[53] Hendrick's most noteworthy additions to the cast of characters that usually appeared in the Pocahontas story are Captain Smith's black man-servant, Mahogany, and Ann Eliza Brown. The former is the comic of the piece and, as such, is the most strongly developed character in the drama. The latter is a practical blonde who has been Smith's fiancée for six years and whose appearance near the end of the action clears the way for Rolfe to marry Pocahontas, who is described in the dramatis personae of the work as a romantic brunette. As can be seen from the general nature of these two characters and from this brief description of their place in the plot, this author's libretto has only very tenuous ties with Smith's original Pocahontas story and is generally representative of the kind of piece that is written with a juvenile drama group in mind.

Much of the same sort of description might be used for another work, Pocahontas, The Indian Queen, which was composed by Charles B. and Pauli A. Hart in the same year as Hendrick's operetta. The story of Pocahontas, as it was

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[53]Welland Hendrick, Pocahontas: A Burlesque Operetta in Two Acts (Chicago: T. S. Dennison and Company, 1886).

told by Smith, is loosely followed here; several minor characters are supplied by the imagination of the authors; but the range of difficulty encountered in staging this piece is such that somewhat more mature talent is required here than that which is demanded in the production of Hendrick's work.[54]

In 1891 Annie E. and Charles W. Robinson published the libretto for yet another musical treatment of the Pocahontas story--an opera in five acts which was entitled Pocahontas[55] and which was revised and republished in 1893 as Pocahontas, or, Homestead Life in the New World: A Libretto in Six Acts.[56] Basically, the action of this light opera, with its very Gilbert-and-Sullivanish music and lyrics, is the same in both versions. The action line of both works is slight, and what the six-act version of the libretto amounts to is merely an extra dropping of the curtain between the scene in which Rolfe quite ardently woos Pocahontas and the scene in which Agnes, an English girl who has designs on Rolfe, plots with Reginald to remove her

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[54]Charles B. and Pauli A. Hart, Pocahontas, The Indian Queen: A Comic Opera in Two Acts (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards, Broughton and Company, 1886).

[55]Annie E. and Charles W. Robinson, Pocahontas: Libretto of an Opera in Five Acts (Detroit, Mich.: Stewart and Lowe Company, 1891).

[56]Annie E. and Charles W. Robinson, Pocahontas, or, Homestead Life in the New World: Libretto in Six Acts (Detroit, Mich.: Stewart and Lowe Company, 1893).

competition by having Pocahontas killed. In the earlier version this action was all contained in a single scene. Of course, Agnes and Reginald are the inventions of the Robinsons as also are the facts that John Smith's parents lived, died, and were buried at Jamestown. One of the most dramatic moments in the opera occurs when John Smith sings an aria at his mother's grave just before he embarks on a journey to Powhatan's village to sue for peace. The rescue episode occurs fairly early in the action of the Robinsons' work, and the remainder of the piece is devoted to the love affairs of Rolfe with Pocahontas and with Agnes and to the final resolution of this triangle as Pocahontas weds Rolfe. This may have been a fairly entertaining bit of melodrama for late nineteenth century audiences, but its plot is far too incredible to appeal to the playgoers of today. One of the greatest weaknesses of this work is its anachronistic quality. There is scattered throughout the work a great deal of very sophisticated small talk and trivial action which is attributed to Jamestowners but which was more likely in keeping with the conversations and activities that were typical of the inhabitants of a village on the outskirts of late nineteenth-century Detroit.

Because of the impact, then, of John Brougham's satiric approach to his material and also because of the tongue-in-cheek attitude that was taken toward Smith's veracity as a historian by Charles Deane and certain other

scholars, the Pocahontas theme seemed to lose much of its appeal for writers of serious plays during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. During this period the dramas which treated the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe episodes from early Virginia history were few in number, and even those few that were produced are generally inferior when their quality is compared either to the early serious plays on the subject or to Brougham's burlesque treatment of the theme. In the first eight years of the ensuing century, however, the problem of quantity, if not that of quality, was rapidly solved for the Pocahontas plays. For during that period of the new century at least ten titles for plays based upon the Pocahontas theme were submitted to the United States Register of Copyrights[57] and from those ten proposals at least eight works saw completion. Much of this new surge of interest in the Pocahontas theme as a subject for drama may, of course, be attributed to the plans that had been formulated for the celebration of the three hundredeth anniversary of the English settlement at Jamestown. That exposition was scheduled to be held in 1907 and 1908, and such a celebration would naturally make plays, novels, and poems about any phase of the early

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[57]For records of titles proposed as well as a list of those plays actually completed in the United States between 1870 and 1916, see: Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States Between 1870 and 1916. 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918).

history of the "Old Dominion" very salable properties. Never let it be said that creative writers, or hacks if you will, are apt to pass up a chance to capitalize upon such a situation to turn a tidy profit. So Pocahontas plays--mostly laudatory, highly patriotic, serious ones--were turned out in profusion.

The first mention of a Pocahontas play in the new century appears in the 1901 records of the United States copyright office as a title only: Captain Smith and Pocahontas: A Melodrama in Four Acts by W. I. Brown and J. A. Kent, who hailed from Alexandria, Indiana.[58] There is no record other than this, just a title registration and an absence of further notation which would let one know that copies of the completed play had been received by the register of copyrights. Probably the fact that the Jamestown Exposition was in the offing suggested the title to these two enterprising authors, but the fact that this celebration was some six years away may have caused them to procrastinate until the work which they planned never took form at all.

After such an inauspicious beginning, one must wait for some four and one-half years before Violet Black was to break the silence and produce the first of a veritable flood of Pocahontas plays that were to appear from 1905 to

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[58]See Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted, Item 6121, I, p. 287.

1908. Miss Black's effort appeared in 1905 in the form of a one-act, one might almost say a one-scene, play which bore the rather unpretentious title "Pocahontas." This little drama, which has never been published and exists only as a typescript in the manuscript collection in the Rare Book Room of The Library of Congress, offers only a brief bit of dialogue between Pocahontas and other characters in the play who enter and exit conveniently so that no more than two players--Pocahontas and one other--are on stage at any given time. In fact there are only three individuals who appear in this skit: Unca, a young Indian chief; Captain Smith; and Pocahontas. Throughout the play, Unca reflects the attitude of the red man who hates the white; Pocahontas portrays the Indian who defends the whites against the wrath of such as Unca; and Smith is the object of Unca's disdain and of Pocahontas's protection. As Unca speaks to Pocahontas, one can observe the depth of his hatred for Smith, and from her responses can also see just how gentle the feelings of the Indian princess are with regard to the English captain. Unca repeatedly charges that "all the Whites are devils" and argues that Smith, as the most diabolical of them all, must die. In response to this Pocahontas says of Smith: "He is my all! My life! My love! Body! Soul!" And with these feelings in mind she resolves to warn Smith of any scheme that Unca may develop to do harm to him or to any of the other settlers at

Jamestown. Within the scope of this short drama, Miss Black did not include any of the familiar episodes that are usually considered to be the highlights of the Pocahontas story, but she has reflected well both the positive and the negative attitudes which the Indian held with regard to the white settlers.

In 1906, on the very eve of the Jamestown Tricentennial Exposition, no less than four new Pocahontas dramas appeared. Two of the four, George F. Viett's Pocahontas, the Virginia Nonpariel[59] and Edwin O. Ropp's Pocahontas,[60] were serious plays which closely resemble the historical dramas produced by Robert Dale Owen and Charlotte Barnes in both method and purpose. As Owen and Barnes had done, each of these dramatists prefaces his play with a more or less detailed introduction in which he explains his purpose or aim in writing a Pocahontas play. In each case, as it did with his predecessors, this purpose turns out to be a poetic interpretation of the heroic character, but here the importance of Captain Smith receives equal play with that given to Pocahontas. In summing up the role played by the English captain, Viett observes that:

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[59]George Frederic Viett, Pocahontas, the Virginia Nonpariel, a Drama of the Seventeenth Century (Richmond, Va.: The C. W. Rex Company, Inc., 1906).

[60][Edwin Oliver Ropp], Pocahontas, a Drama in Five Acts by Tecumtha (Natura Normal, Ill.: Universal Publishing Co., 1906).

"To him alone was due the establishment of the English colonies, resulting in the English-speaking United States of to-day; of which, if George Washington was the father, John Smith is undoubtedly the grandfather."[61]

Like John Esten Cooke's My Lady Pokahontas, Viett has his action begin with a meeting between John Smith and William Shakespeare at the Mermaid Inn during which they talk about the proposed Virginia venture. But following this purely fabricated episode, the author then turns to a narrative line that draws heavily--almost relentlessly--upon the accounts of Pocahontas's role in early Virginia history that are to be found in the works of John Smith. As is the case in his own works, Smith's nobility of character is played up at every turn in the action of Viett's play, and as the action progresses the love of the Indian princess for the English captain is clearly shown. True to Smith's own accounts, however, Viett's hero is blind to Pocahontas's feeling for him as he looks upon her only as a father would his child. Although Viett's play, as well as Ropp's, is structured so as to place either Smith or Pocahontas, or both, at the center of each scene's action--whether or not they are actually on stage at a given moment the action still revolves about their destiny. There are also fairly well-wrought depictions of the settlers, the Indians, and

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[61]Viett, "Introduction," p. 9.

certain minor characters who are individualized in the plays. The jealousies and struggles at Jamestown are clearly delineated by both authors so as to present the state of conflict within the settlement. The Indians in these two plays are "more sinned against than sinning" and Viett says of them: "Like beacon lights far set down time's relentless tide, they signal back to us, the pathos and the power, and the pride that was their portion, and of which the first alone remains."[62] Patriotism and love of freedom are the distinguishing characteristics of Viett's Indians, and these qualities carry with them a rugged strength which seems consistent with their view of life. A proud dignity, for example, is exhibited by Powhatan as he refuses to kneel for his coronation and says:

> He kneels not. Let the crowning and the presents be taken away--for Powhatan is not a slave. He is a king. His warriors will never be slaves; and 'tis slaves alone that kneel. . . .Go tell your king that the king Powhatan kneels to none.[63]

The Indians appearing in Ropp's Pocahontas, on the other hand, lack this spirit of ruggedness and project a gentility that carries with it little or no savage force. As a case in point, we may examine the settlers' conception of them which is expressed as follows:

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[62]Viett, "Introduction," p. 16.

[63]Ibid., p. 103.

SMITH
How strange these wild men of the
wilderness.

SETTLER
Most shy.

ROLFE
Yet bold.

WILLIAM
And ready to suppress Suspicion . . .
Their childlike frankness is a polished
gem;
How curious must we settlers seem to
them.[64]

Such an evaluation of the character of the Indians sums up those basic qualities that are developed in Ropp's scenes devoted to the aboriginal members of his cast. Powhatan's council meeting is a scene of orderly serenity, and the following conversation between Powhatan and Pocahontas concerning the view of the waterfalls reveals anything but a savage nature:

POWHATAN
Magnificent, good Maiden, it is true
A fascinating and fantastic view.
My breast oft wonders

POCAHONTAS
At what can it be?

POWHATAN
That Heaven gave me such a girl as thee.
My heart could forfeit any thing for
thine.

POCA.
Mine almost deems thy placid mind divine.

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[64]Ropp., p. 44.

POWHATAN
My love for Pocahontas knows no bounds.
(Both reverently bow in prayer.)
Great Spirit guide us to the hunting grounds.[65]

This sort of extreme gentility is carried to such lengths by Ropp that, at the end of the play, Powhatan takes on the image of a nursemaid as he is seen at the forest home of Rolfe and Pocahontas playing with his grandchildren, Minnie and Willie. The play ends with:

POWHATAN
Come children, it is time to seek your beds.

ROLFE
Beneath the coverlets go tuck your heads.

(The children kiss their parents and walk into the cabin hand in hand with their grandfather.)[66]

This is hardly a scene reminiscent of the savage character usually associated with that of an Indian chief. Also among Powhatan's tribe, as presented in Ropp's Pocahontas, are Hiawatha and Minnehaha, and these two take a conspicuous part in the action of the play as they join Pocahontas in pleading for the life of Smith. The overall gentle nature of this pair and the pastoral love scenes in which they are involved add much to the general image of the non-savage Indian that is projected in Ropp's play.

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[65]Ropp, pp. 20-21.

[66]Ibid., p. 89.

Viett's and Ropp's Pocahontas plays add little to the development of the drama based on the story of the Indian princess. The interest that shows itself most clearly in these works is that which has to do with the heroics of Captain Smith, and Pocahontas, as representative of the gentler side of the Indian culture and character, largely becomes a sort of picturesque backdrop for his swashbuckling actions. Because they are depicted as extremes of gentleness or savagery, there is a general lack of reality in the characterization of the Indians who are encountered here. Language is a key factor in this lack of reality; for in Viett's play the speech of the natives is that of the cultured gentleman, while in Ropp's opus they think and speak like pastoral shepherds rather than rude savages.

When judged on their literary merit, the other two plays which appeared in 1906 and which dealt with the Pocahontas theme were probably of even less consequence than were the dramas of Viett and Ropp. Effie Louise Koogle's Royalty in Old Virginia[67] is typical of the highly romantic, light operettas which were generally composed with young performers in mind, and W. L. Austin's Pocahontas, A

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[67]Effie Louise Koogle, Royalty in Old Virginia (Lebanon, Ohio: March Brothers, 1906).

Spectacular Play[68] was recorded in copyright records as having been received by that office in typescript. A careful search of the manuscript collection of the Library of Congress where such materials are deposited, however, reveals that no such script is available there. In addition to these four items which were written, there is also the record of a title, Pocahontas: A Comedy of Sylvan Love and Tragedy of a Broken Heart, which was copyrighted in 1906 by De Bonneville Randolph Keim.[69] No record, however, is to be found which would indicate that copies of a completed work by that title were submitted for registration.

In 1907 the impact of the Jamestown Exposition on the production of dramas by American playwrights continued to be evident as Kate Tucker Goode's "A Princess of Virginia: A Drama" appeared in Lippincott's Magazine[70] and as Bolossy Kiralfy's Pocahontas: A Grand Lyric, Mimic, Acquatic, and Pictorial Spectacle Founded Upon the History of Virginia was submitted to the United States copyright office in the form of a typescript which still exists as an item in the holdings of the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress. Each of these authors was probably inspired

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[68]See: Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States, 1870-1916, II, p. 1839, item 36602.

[69]Ibid., Item 36596.

[70]Kate Tucker Goode, "A Princess of Virginia: A Drama," Lippincott's Magazine, 79 (June, 1907), 817-848.

to his task by the celebration of Jamestown's three hundredeth anniversary; but, as is true of so many works when an occasion rather than a consuming interest is the source of their conception, each of these occasional pieces lacks the spark of inspiration which would make them more appealing. Certainly neither work could be said to be the type of literary effort that would contribute greatly to the aggrandizement of the Pocahontas theme as a subject for drama.

Finally, in January 1908, three hundred years to the month after Pocahontas's fabled rescue of Captain Smith, one finds in an issue of Theatre Magazine[71] a one-page review of a farcical play by Clay M. Greene which he called "Pocahontas: or, Ye Gentle Savage Discovered." Apparently this ridiculous dramatization of the Pocahontas story was composed specifically for the "annual pow-wow" of the members of the New York Athletic Club and was given its only production by members of that group. According to the anonymous reviewer, the play dealt with "Indian life, love, tomfoolery, and other wild things" and is related, from what one can gather, to the original Pocahontas story only in very tenuous ways.

With this brief mention of Greene's farcical handling of the Pocahontas theme, we come to the end of

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[71]"The Great Clambake of the Huckleberry Indians," Theatre Magazine, 8 (January, 1908), 30.

our survey of the first century of Pocahontas plays. Unquestionably, the earliest dramas treating the theme--those of Barker, Custis, Owen, and Barnes--are the best from both a dramatic and a literary point of view. These early dramas reflect the vogue of the noble savage which held sway throughout the first half of the nineteenth century; and it should be remembered that the farther away one gets from these works--and hence from reliance upon the accounts of John Smith--the less romantic the plays are to become. After 1850 the Pocahontas story was not taken as seriously as before; consequently comedies and burlesques marked the direction taken most frequently by plays based upon the theme. Part of this was due to the lessening of the vogue of the noble savage; much of it stemmed from the popularity of John Brougham's burlesque treatment of the theme; but some of it grew out of the derogatory handling of Smith, Pocahontas, and Rolfe by Charles Deane and other antiquarians. Despite such derogation, however, the Pocahontas story never completely vanished from the American stage; and with the approach of the Jamestown Exposition of 1907, playwrights, both serious and comic, seized upon the theme with renewed vigor. It may be argued with merit that the drama, when compared with other genres, best reflects the vicissitudes of the Pocahontas theme during its first hundred years of creative treatment in American literature.

CHAPTER VI

THE POCAHONTAS POEMS: 1803-1907

In the two chapters of this study which immediately precede the present one, various treatments of the Pocahontas theme that are found in the works of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American prose-fiction writers and dramatists have been thoroughly examined. In surveying each of these genres a sufficient number of examples of the handling of the Pocahontas materials were found to demonstrate that the story of Captain Smith, Master Rolfe, and the Indian princess was almost continuously employed by at least certain writers of American belles-lettres during the period under consideration. Indeed, one may say that this proved to be the case from the time that John Davis introduced the material into prose-fiction in 1803 until it reached one of the high-watermarks of its popular appeal during the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown in 1907-1908. With the fruits of the study of these novels, stories, and plays in mind, however, completion of the present survey requires that one go a step farther and examine the place which the Pocahontas legend had in the poetry that was produced by Americans during this same period.

If one is impressed by mere numbers, he surely will be awed by the frequency with which Pocahontas poems appeared during this period. Investigation reveals that almost fifty verse pieces, which deal exclusively with or make significant mention of the Pocahontas theme, by some forty different authors, appeared in American literature between 1803 and 1907. Certainly the numerous occasions upon which poets turned to the Smith-Pocahontas-Rolfe story as a source of subject matter for their poetizing indicates that these writers clearly felt that the materials afforded an appropriate body of material for poetic treatment. And they were quite perceptive in this judgment, for neither the novel nor the drama seem to equal the potential of the poem for appropriately presenting the story of the Indian maid. "Why?" one may ask. As has been shown in earlier chapters, the subject is indigenously American--the first American story that was to be told some years later in English--and as such it satisfies the demand of the new nation for a national literature which was based on native subjects. But more than this it presents clashes between the peoples of two nations--the almost epic struggle between the invading English and the defending Indian. The resulting confrontations--which are the very essence of the Pocahontas story--are replete with highly charged emotional scenes in which love, hate, cruelty, courage, sympathy, self-sacrifice, treachery, suspense, suffering, and other such qualities lie

waiting for the touch of a poet whose genius will make them live permanently. The characters--romantic Indian and doughty foreigner who move always against the backdrop provided by uncharted rivers and bays and wild, pristine forests--also lend themselves most readily to poetic treatment. Furthermore, the fact that here is a story of high romance with more than its share of climactic peaks in the line of action--any one of which might provide adequate material for the development of a short narrative or lyric poem--would lead one to believe that here is a story that is ready-made for the poet who has either a long or a short poem in mind.

That a number of poets were acutely aware of the poetic potential of the Pocahontas theme can be clearly seen not only from their verse based upon this material but also from their own statements concerning this matter. Sometimes these evaluations are to be found in the poems themselves, as in the verses of J. T. Littleton when he writes in in extremely pastoral vein:

> Sweet Pocahontas, Indian maiden born,
> With thine we rank thy noble brother's
> name,
> Full worthy each of an immortal fame;
> For when our nation in its lurid morn,
> A weakling in the wilderness forlorn,
> Was feebly struggling, swift to help ye
> came
> Impelled by innate virtues, put to shame
> The haughty Christians, who thy people
> scorn.
> Thy life, sweet Indian maid is fitting
> theme
> For poet's pen or sage's puissant brain;

Its beauty lures us and we fain would
know
Its source. Though baffled as before a
dream
We ope our hearts as earth to summer
rain,
Nor seek to know, but gladly drink and
grow.[1]

More frequently, however, such defenses of the choice of the Pocahontas saga as a subject for their verses are contained in remarks that serve as a preface for the poem proper. In her introduction to a poem called Pocahontas, A Legend, Mrs. M. M. Webster expressed her own opinion--and undoubtedly that of many of her fellow-poets--concerning her choice of subject when she wrote:

> Few subjects belong more clearly to the province of poetry than the events connected with the Aborigines of our country. They were altogether a poetical race. Their deeds of heroic daring, their uncomplaining endurance of physical suffering, affecting instances of patriotic devotion, scenes of domestic loveliness, and personal unbroken friendships--these besides the varied and romantic scenery of their boundless domains, are fitting themes for the investments of the poetic fancy no less than the records of the faithful historian.
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> Among the individuals of this once innumerable and singular people, no one claims a deeper interest than the hero of the following Legend. Most affecting are the incidents of her life which stand in bold relief on the graphic page. But other incidents of no less deep and glowing interest are to be found among the torn annals of tradition. Of these enough have come down to us to excite our admiration and love for the frail blossom, which,

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[1]Jessie T. Littleton, The Story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas: A Souvenir of the Jamestown Exposition (Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1907), pp. 12-13.

> like much of superior excellence, perished ere it reached it noontide development.[2]

In both cases then, which are representative of many poets' attitudes toward the Pocahontas materials as a fit subject for their efforts, one finds a very positive statement of the material's potential. The grist of great poetry is there, but oh for a poet worthy of the task of shaping the material to its greatest poetic potential!

Having noticed two poets' views of the poetic potential of the Pocahontas material and having pointed to the frequency of its treatment in American poetry composed between 1803 and 1907, one must hasten to add that the Pocahontas poems, on the whole, are a pretty bad lot. Judged on the basis of their artistic merit alone, they can lay little claim to being intrinsically significant in American literature. The kindest critics have labeled the writers involved here as "minor" poets; the more virulent commentators, however, have been thoroughly caustic by either attacking them as being "no poets at all" or, even worse, by altogether ignoring their poetic efforts. Indeed, there are no masterpieces here, and none of the forty authors involved could claim to have mastered the art of the poet. But generally speaking there is a sincerity of approach to the subject--a kind of patriotic fervor, if you

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[2]Mary Webster Mosby [Mrs. M. M. Webster], Pocahontas, A Legend (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1840), pp. v-vi.

will--that may cause these technically faulty pieces to capture the interest of those who appreciate the story involved and see this blend of fact and legend as an integral part of our national heritage.

The point of departure for any survey of the Pocahontas poems written in America is the same as it was for the discussion of prose-fiction treatments of the legend which appeared in an earlier chapter--John Davis's Travels,[3] which was published in 1803. One of the major threads within the fabric of Davis's fictional presentation of the Pocahontas story has to do with the courting of the Indian princess by John Rolfe. As he was often wont to do in the telling of any story, Davis heavily embroiders upon the factual details in his sources, and this elaboration results in the author's having Rolfe wax eloquent as he composes three lyric poems which describe his ladylove and the state of his passion toward her. The first of these, "To Pocahontas,"[4] takes the form of three quatrains with alternately rhyming lines which are metrically rough attempts at octosyllabic structure. One is hard put to decide if such faulty metrics are merely the product of the poet's ineptness or if the roughness of line is an intended

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[3]John Davis, Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America During 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802 (1803; rpt. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909).

[4]Ibid., p. 309.

device that is used to reflect the agitation of the swain as he addresses his complaint to his beloved. Whichever the case may be, however, the gist of the poem is its expression of Rolfe's request that Pocahontas turn away from her "faithless lover" (Captain Smith ?) and "take some more deserving swain;" (John Rolfe ?) to be her suitor. The second of these pieces, "To Pocahontas,"[5] which is perhaps the most metrically perfect of the three poems, is a lyric composed of twelve octosyllabic lines which devotes itself, in the style of Elizabethan love poetry, to singing effusively about the lovely face, and voice, and kiss of the Indian maid. In the final poem of the set, "Sonnet to Pocahontas," one finds the standard fourteen iambic pentameter lines, but the rhyme scheme--seven couplets which close at the end of the fourth, the eighth, and the fourteenth line--hardly fits the pattern of either the Italian, the English, or the Spenserian sonnet form. Here again Rolfe is represented as languishing for the love of Pocahontas, and the poem concludes:

> Here where the mocking-bird, the woods among,
> Warbles with rolling note her plaintive song,
> And the sad Muckawis' ill-omen'd strain,
> Rings from the woods and echoes to the plain,

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[5]Davis, Travels, p. 310.

Here as I pensive wander through the
glade,
I sigh and call upon my Indian Maid.[6]

Even though Davis persists throughout his narrative in attributing the composition of these poems to Master Rolfe, apparently few people were unaware of the fact that they were really composed by the author of the fiction himself. When he uses the sonnet again in his historical novel, The First Settlers of Virginia (1805),[7] however, Davis more or less abandons his earlier pose as discoverer of the piece and does not directly attribute the poem's composition to Rolfe. Even though these works are free of the seriousness and the sense of tragedy that one will find in the later Pocahontas poems, they do represent interesting examples of the artificial, conventional, hypersentimental love lyrics that were so popular with many Elizabethan poets. Their major importance, however, stems from the fact that they are the first specimens that we have of poems which treat any aspect of the Pocahontas theme.

In 1807 Joel Barlow, a member of the poetic coterie generally known as "The Connecticut Wits," published The Columbiad,[8] a greatly revised and enlarged version of his

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[6]Davis, Travels, p. 311.

[7]John Davis, The First Settlers of Virginia, 2nd ed. (New York: I. Riley, 1805), p. 172.

[8]Joel Barlow, The Columbiad (Philadelphia: C. A. Conrad and Company, 1807).

earlier poem The Vision of Columbus, which had appeared in 1787. In that portion of this revision which has to do with the early settlement of the English in America, Barlow includes a version of the episode in which the savage maid rescues Captain Smith from the executioner's cudgel, and in so doing this author takes one of the most creative approaches to the handling of the Pocahontas theme that is to be found in all of American literature. It is the Pocahontas-John Smith story with classical overtones that one finds here, for in his presentation of the material Barlow draws an analogy between the Smith-Pocahontas relationship and the Medea-Jason relationship in classical mythology.[9] Pocahontas is the Medea who assists John Smith, her Jason, in outwitting her father and furthering the firm establishment of the foreign invader on land that once was the private domain of her people. Such loyalty to the pale-faced English captain is, in its own way, as strange as are the powers of the sorceress which are possessed by Medea. This Indian princess, however, is an innocent "Medea" free from the subtlety, treachery, and corruption of her classic counterpart. In Barlow's poem she assumes

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[9]See "Jason and the Argonauts" in Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology ed. Felix Guirand, trans. from the French by Richard Addington and Delano Ames (London: Batchworth Press Ltd., 1959), pp. 210-11; Thomas Bulfinch, Mythology, Modern Library Edition (1855; rpt. New York: Random House Inc., n.d.), pp. 107-14; Edward Tripp, Crowell's Handbook of Classical Mythology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1970), pp. 73-95; 359-63.

her accustomed role as a guardian angel whose assistance to Smith and the colonists is motivated by her sympathy, her pity, her abhorrence of cruelty as well as by her love for the English captain. Pocahontas is neither as sophisticated, as unfeeling, nor as consciously scheming as her classical sister. A few lines will serve to demonstrate the epic dignity and seriousness of tone, the almost Horatian movement, the handling of iambic pentameter couplets, and the wide range of imagination that Barlow brings to his work. In the author's own words the poem is described as "patriotic," and "the subject is national and historical." The audience of this neo-classical yet sentimental poem is clearly the nation itself:

> Your fond Medea too, whose dauntless
> breast
> All danger braves to screen her hunted
> guest,
> Shall quit her native tribe but never
> share
> The crimes and sufferings of the
> Colchian fair.
> Blest Pocahontas, fear no lurking guile;
> Thy hero's love shall well reward thy
> smile.
> Ah soothe the wanderer in his desperate
> plight,
> Hide him by day and calm his cares by
> night;
> Tho savage nations with thy vengeful
> sire
> Pursue their victim with unceasing ire,
> And tho their threats thy startled ears
> assail,
> Let virtue's voice o'er filial fears
> prevail.
> Fly with the faithful youth, his steps
> to guide
> Pierce the known thicket, breast the
> fordless tide,

> Illude the scout, avoid the ambusht line
> And lead him safely to his friends and
> thine;
> For thine shall be his friends, his
> heart, his name;
> His camp shall shout, his nation boast
> thy fame.[10]

In the same year that Barlow's poem appeared the "National Jubilee" (Bicentennial Celebration) at Jamestown elicited a dythyrambic ode from the pen of Charles K. Blanchard, a native of Norfolk. This poem, which was later reprinted several times,[11] first appeared in the Norfolk Herald after the author had delivered it in what was reported to have been an impressive oral presentation on May 13, 1807. Although this "Ode" is devoted to an account of the early settlement of Virginia, there are but two minor references to Smith and Pocahontas. First the poet speaks of the Indian princess:

> Nor mid the tow'ring forest shade,
> Was the black hair'd Indian Maid
> At all afraid,
> To see the graceful stranger move,
> Or hear his softest songs of love.
> For love bewitch'd these real Wood
> nymphs wild,
> Wav'd her white arms, and o'er the
> desert smil'd.[12]

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[10]Joel Barlow, The Columbiad, Bk. IV, 11. 281-298 in The Works of Joel Barlow, eds. William K. Bottorff and Arthur L. Ford (Gainsville, Fla.: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1970), II, 540.

[11]Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 333.

[12]Charles K. Blanchard, "'Ode' Delivered by Master C. K. Blanchard at the Jubilee at Jamestown," The American

And a few lines later, with regard to Smith, he says:

> Our ancestors! A small but daring band
> Led by a Hero first in fame,
> Cloth'd with courage, arm'd with flame,
> Against the hideous howling throng,
> March'd dreadful on, . . .[13]

So brief, indeed, are these allusions to Smith and the Indian maid that the person who comments on Blanchard's "Ode" feels moved to request that "the verse of Virginiad" should pay some "further respects" to the "Princess Pocahontas" at an early date.[14]

Five years elapsed after Blanchard's "Ode" was delivered before the next poetic treatments of the Pocahontas theme are to be found in brief references to Captain Smith and the Indian princess which appeared in two poems that were published in 1812. The first of these, "Jamestown an Elegy"[15] by John Davis, is written in quatrains which are made up of alternately rhyming, iambic tetrameter lines. Of the seventeen stanzas which make up the entire poem, only the fifth and sixth are devoted to "the gallant Smith" and "the tawny maid." The keynote here, as it is throughout the entire poem, is the

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Gleaner and Virginia Magazine, I, 10 (May 30, 1807), 158, ll. 51-57.

[13]Ibid., ll. 69-73.

[14]Ibid., p. 140.

[15]John Davis, "Jamestown an Elegy" in Port Folio, N. S. VIII, no. 3 (Aug., 1812), 213-15.

development of the "ubi sunt" motif which was widely popular in the approach taken to elegiac verse by members of the English "graveyard" school of poets. Another work which referred to Pocahontas briefly was published in the same year by the Norfolk poet William Maxwell in a set of lines which were addressed "To William Wirt, esq." In the opening lines of this piece, Maxwell shows his reader that he is aware of Wirt's interest in the Pocahontas story and also reveals his own concept of the relationship that existed between Captain Smith and the Indian girl as he writes about one of the instances in which Pocahontas intercedes with fate on behalf of Smith:

> See Pocahontas flies by night
> Tho' dark, alone, and late,
> With beating heart, and step so light
> To avert her lover's fate.[16]

In both of these poetic pieces which refer to Pocahontas and which graced the year 1812, the romantic approach taken by the poet is worthy of note. In Davis's work, one finds that the graveyard setting and the melancholy strain of the "ubi sunt" motif--elements that are often identified with truly romantic poetry--are the predominant features of the poem. With Maxwell's work, on the other hand, the fanciful suggestion of a love affair in which both Smith and Pocahontas were participants expressed a point of view that

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[16]William Maxwell, Poems (Philadelphia: William Fry, 1812), p. 59.

was to become the standard approach of most of the later poets who would write about these characters. It is highly significant that Maxwell's fourth line reads: "her lover's fate," and not "her beloved's fate," for in so writing he positively projects a love relationship between the pair that had only been hinted at by earlier writers.

In June of 1814 an anonymous poem entitled "The Beauties of York,"[17] appeared in the Port Folio and intersticed between passages which praise the physical beauties of the region is an elegant tribute to Pocahontas:

> These are the walks, and these the
> bowery shade,
> The lov'd recess where POCAHONTAS
> stray'd;
> When Smith's dear image to her bosom
> stole.
> For thee heroic maid, no kind return,
> In him thou sav'dst, no kindred fervour
> burn!
> That noble passion of the noble mind,
> The bliss of angels and of human kind,
> That balmy essence of the blest above,
> Joy of the world and life of nature--
> Love,
> For thee to torment, to despair was
> turn'd,
> Madden'd thy bosom and with fury burn'd.
> Though thy firm heart no tender proof
> denied,
> Pure in distress in dangers doubly
> tried,
> Made female weakness yield, and female
> fear,
> To warn thy Smith and save a life so
> dear;

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[17]"The Beauties of York," Port Folio, 3rd Series, III, no. 6 (June, 1814), 594-97.

Through trackless forests led thy
faithful maids,
And dar'd the horrors of the midnight
shades;
Watch'd every motion of his treacherous
foe,
And fearless sprung to avert the
murderous blow:
Yet left at last to nurse consuming
cares,
And weep thy woes in unavailing tears.
For thee the Muse shall weave her
choicest song,
To thee these notes and loftier notes
belong;
Thy gentle sorrows shall my verse refine,
And breathe soft langour through the
flowing line,
The flowing line shall gently swell thy
fame
And hollow paeans still embalm thy
name.[18]

This poem's reference to the "neglected Pocahontas" is given by the editor of the Port Folio as the major reason for his acceptance of this piece for publication. He continues:

> [She is] a princess who, in other countries, if not actually deified, would have been worshipped, at least, as a tutelary saint; but who, in this, where virtue, talents, and worth constitute the only legitimate title to distinction, has been suffered to be almost lost to fame.

He finally chides those who would forget Pocahontas as he says that, "whatever productions or documents makes honorable mention of the name of that extraordinary woman should be prized as sacred and piously preserved by the people of America." This defender of Pocahontas reasons that, "the poet, the painter, the sculptor, and the statuary

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[18]"The Beauties of York," pp. 595-96, ll. 37-64.

should vie with each other in doing justice to her achievements and in perpetuating her renown."[19]

A few months earlier this same magazine had published yet a fifth poem by John Davis which treated the Pocahontas theme and which was entitled "The Angel of the Wild."[20] Here Davis poetically recreates the rescue scene in which Pocahontas saves Smith from the executioner's club and poses a question relating to the presence of such magnanimity in this "angel of the wild" who has been reared in a savage world of scalps and war-weapons. In answer to his own query, Davis concludes:

> But Pity sought thee in the wild,
> Invisible, thy cradle rocked;
> Seraphic Love his offerings piled,
> And Smiles and Graces round thee flocked.[21]

In Letters from Virginia Translated from the French (1816) which was probably written by the essayist George Tucker, Letter XX[22] proceeds to deal with the story of Smith and "the Belle Sauvage" whom this author identifies as "almost the only poetical characters in the history of the state (of Virginia)." Early in this essay a poet named

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[19]"The Beauties of York," p. 594.

[20]John Davis, "The Angel of the Wild," Port Folio, 3rd Series, III, 4 (April, 1814), 374-75.

[21]Ibid., p. 375.

[22][George Tucker?], "Letter XX," in Letters from Virginia Translated from the French (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1816), pp. 186-94.

"Lively" is introduced; a walk among the ruins of Jamestown ensues; and under the effects of a sudden fit of inspiration, Lively strikes off a very inept ballad which relates how Powhatan plots to massacre Smith and other white settlers and how Pocahontas, learning of her father's scheme, questions the justice of his plot:

> 'Alas! the Captain of War,
> That met me today on the green!
> Must die then? And what is it for?
> Didn't he call me his dear little
> Queen?'[23]

The princess searches her soul, finds no justice in Powhatan's action, resolves her dilemma, and acts:

> 'No! never if I can prevent:
> I fly like an arrow to save!--
> Away like an arrow she went,
> Twang'd off from the bow of the brave.[24]

She warns Smith and then, lest her aid to the English be discovered by her father, slips away into the night:

> So away like the wild dove she flew,
> All alone by herself as she came;
> And love to her memory true,
> Records the fair deed to her fame.[25]

Having examined this poem, one must admit that it is pretty sorry stuff. For although the poet succeeds in rather faithfully relating "the story of Pocahontas's night journey to warn Smith, he does not enhance her 'poetical character'

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[23]Tucker, p. 192, ll. 33-36.

[24]Ibid., p. 192, ll. 41-44.

[25]Ibid., p. 194, ll. 89-92.

as far as moving verse is concerned."[26] Indeed, there is a shallow, self-serving quality about such lines as "And their songs are as charming as mine" and "Each maid in this elegant throng, / Shall give me a kiss for my pains," which destroys whatever positive effect the poet's telling of the Pocahontas story might have.

In 1820 Bernard Moore Carter, a member of one of the most distinguished of Virginia families, published a collection of his miscellaneous poems which included as its initial offering a piece entitled "Pocahontas."[27] From the first work to the last in this volume, Carter is generally shown to be a less than effective poet so overly enamored with his own verbiage that his verse has a tendency to stand in the way of his meaning. Throughout "Pocahontas," for example, the poet overembellishes his story with a wealth of classical allusions which makes it difficult for the reader to discover just what part of the story is being related at any given juncture in the poem. The piece begins with a very classical invocation to the poet's Muse, proceeds to describe the landing of the English and its effect on the Indians, and then ends, in one of the poem's most lucid and hence one of its best passages, with a description of Pocahontas's action in rescuing Smith from

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[26]Davis, Intellectual Life, p. 317.

[27]Bernard Moore Carter, "Pocahontas" in Miscellaneous Poems (Philadelphia: J. Maxwell, 1820), pp. 7-20.

the executioner's club. Carter writes here:

> But, O how passing tenderly,
> O'er him, her bosom's panoply
> The sweet Matoax kindly threw,
> As from her crouding [sic] host, she
> flew,
> To guard the guardian of the crew!
> As though some saint from blest abodes,
> Had brought an AEgis of the gods,
> Or lit a Christian temple there,
> Where gleam'd the flames of Pagan war--[28]

While these lines cannot, perhaps, be defended as being extracts from a great, or even a good, poem, they do represent the best to be found in Carter's Pocahontas piece, and this should indicate just how ineffective the poorer segments of Carter's attempts at verse might be.

Another member of the Carter clan, St. Leger Landon Carter, is the next contributor to the canon of Pocahontas poems, for in 1821 he published anonymously in Baltimore The Land of Powhatan, By A Virginian.[29] In speaking of this work a reviewer in the Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine points out that it is "a sort of epic ballad, or rhyming chronicle, of the first settlement of our state," which includes, "Powhatan, Pocahontas, Captain Smith, and all the rest."[30] What the poem really amounts to is a very

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[28]Carter, pp. 18-19, ll. 157-165.

[29][St. Leger Landon Carter], The Land of Powhatan, By A Virginian (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Jr., 1821).

[30]"The Land of Powhatan." (A Review) in Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine, IV (1821), 356.

long verse tale which Carter has divided into some twenty-five short sections that offer a variety of rhythms--ballad measures, anapestic tetrameter, and octosyllabic lines, for example--in an attempt to avoid the monotony which often destroys the effectiveness of such a long poem as this. In his own comments on this work, the author refers to his subject as an "uninteresting one," but he then attacks his task with a gusto which would lead one to believe that he found it to be a very interesting one indeed. Beginning in a high-blown, pseudo-epic fashion:

> Imperial Powhatan! thy day
> In dark oblivion rolls away;
> Thy warriors all in dust are laid,
> And silent sleeps the Indian maid;[31]

the poet moves on to describe the country as it was before the white man came, then to relate the arrival of the English, and finally to present a memoir of Captain Smith and his various adventures. Perhaps no part of the poem is more appealing than the author's description of the rescue of Smith from the executioner's block in section IX:

> Extended on the fatal block,
> His eye awaits the coming shock,
> Of that dread club upwhirled in air,
> With muscle strained and looks that
> glare:
> A shriek arrests the downward blow,
> And Pocahontas shields the foe.
> "Father," in shuddering agony she sighs
> "Oh spare this bosom, or thy daughter
> dies;

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[31]Carter, Land of Powhatan, p. 7.

"Strike not this unresisting heart,
"The brave shall shun the coward part."[32]

Up to this point in the poem, Carter has followed his sources rather faithfully, but from this juncture onward the story becomes pretty much the product of the poet's creative imagination. For example, Carter has Smith ask for the hand of the princess in marriage, has Powhatan refuse this request, and has Pocahontas--having been apprehended during an attempt to elope with Smith--sent away by her father to become the bride of Japasaws. Finally, just as this wedding is about to occur, an Englishman (perhaps Smith) enters in the disguise of an Indian, slays the groom, and bears Pocahontas away to Jamestown. This is certainly the most melodramatic Pocahontas poem that has been encountered thus far in our survey, and in some ways the "little-Nell-Snidely-Whiplash-Dudley-Doright" effect that is applied to Pocahontas, Powhatan, and Captain Smith makes it the most entertaining one of all.

John Davis, the first author to see the potential of the Pocahontas story for creative treatment, includes his final handling of the Smith-Pocahontas theme in the sixth canto of The American Mariners,[33] which appeared in 1822. Here Davis, in the most dramatic fashion to be found in any

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[32]Carter, Land of Powhatan, pp. 71-72.

[33]John Davis, The American Mariners: or The Atlantic Voyage, A Moral Poem (Salisbury, Eng.: Brodie and Dowding, 1822), Canto VI, ll. 4188-4215, pp. 219-20).

of his Pocahontas poems, poetically presents again the rescue of "the gallant Smith" by "Virginia's jewel, and her sex's pride."

In 1825 two residents of Petersburg penned poems which ambitiously attempted to treat the story of Smith and Pocahontas. The first of these, "The Virginiad" by Hiram Haines, was included as the initial item in a collection of poems entitled Mountain Buds and Blossoms,[34] and represents an effort on the part of this author to celebrate the topographical and historical glories of his native state. In a series of eight-line stanzas which employ a rhyme scheme of ababcdcd and whose lines are alternately twelve and ten beats long throughout each stanza, moves his reader systematically across the state. When this tour brings us to the Appomattox River, the poet is reminded of,

> Fair Pocahontas of exalted mind.
> A race as noble as her heart was kind.

There ensues a love song which depicts the "moonstruck" maid's delight in her beloved "white warrior," Smith, and which romantically concludes:

> I'll weave my love a gay wampum belt
> shining
> With bright coral shells, so lovely and
> fair;
> And I'll bind him a crest together
> entwining

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[34]Hiram Haines, Mountain Buds and Blossoms, Wove in a Rustic Garland. By the Stranger (Petersburg, Va.: Yancy and Burton, 1825), pp. 13-57.

> The pelican's plumage with my waving
> hair.
> Oh! then to him quick I smiling will
> bear them,
> On his brow and his arms my hands shall
> them braid;
> That when he's away the fair warrior may
> wear them,
> And look and remember his dark Indian
> maid.[35]

These lines are certainly the equal, and perhaps the superior, of any other passage found in Haines' poem which--including as it does glowing tributes to Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Randolph--should have been a very successful work. For one reason or another, however, this poem never achieved great popularity with the reading public.

The other 1825 poem which develops the Pocahontas theme is Virginia or the Fatal Patent[36] by another Petersburger, Judge John Robertson. In this three-canto metrical romance, which is a stanzaic patchwork made up of a few echoes from the songs of Sir Walter Scott that are blended with many adroitly fashioned Spenserian stanzas, the poet rhymes at length about the separation of the Virginia colony from the crown--an action that was due to the patent issued by James I to the London Company. Captain John Smith is the protagonist of the poem; hence Pocahontas is assured

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[35]This passage and the preceding one are quoted in F. V. N. Painter, Poets of Virginia (Richmond, Va.: B. F. Johnson Co., 1907), p. 79.

[36]John Robertson, Virginia or The Fatal Patent: A Metrical Romance in Three Cantos (Washington, D.C.: Davis and Force, 1825).

of a role in its action. When the hero is bound as a captive and is near despair, the Indian princess sings to him "soft and low," and assures him that she will save him. Save him she does, and then, after several futile attempts, escapes from her father's village to join Smith at Jamestown. Here again the subject, as the author approaches it, has great potential, but the product is a mediocre one.

In 1827 passing mention is made by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney to Powhatan's daughter who:

> . . . smit with pity sigh'd
> For the pale victim that her valour
> saved,[37]

and in 1829 the third decade in which Pocahontas poems appeared is rounded out by "Pocahontas,"[38] a brief, emotion-filled lyric by Moses Y. Scott. Scott's poem consists of six four-line stanzas which are mostly written in dactylic feet and which have a ballad-like rapidity in their movement. The action of the piece tells the story of Pocahontas fighting her way through the forest on a dark, turbulent night to warn the settlers of the imminent danger of an Indian attack. The last four stanzas of the poem are a speech delivered by the Indian maid to the colonists in

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[37]Lydia H. Sigourney, "On Passing at Jamestown, Virginia, the Ruins of the Most Ancient Church in America," in Poems (Boston: S. G. Goodrich, 1827), pp. 131-33.

[38]Moses Y. Scott, "Pocahontas," in Samuel Kettell, ed., Specimens of American Poetry (Boston: S. G. Goodrich and Co., 1829), III, 117-118.

which she warns them to beware of "Havoc's sweep," the coming tempest, and the fire that soon will rage. In the figurative language of the poem, Powhatan and his warriors are analogous to the storm and the settlers are compared to trees which must put down roots to stand against the fury of the coming tempest. Having thus warned the colonists, Pocahontas brings her oration to a close with the following veiled and touching plea:

> "White men beware!--And when at last,
> Your fears are dead and your dangers
> past,
> Shall the voices of the warner be e'er
> betray'd--
> Shall white men forget the Indian
> maid?"[39]

In commenting upon the poetry of William Gilmore Simms in the Library of Southern Literature, James Scherer states that this author "wrote much verse, and a few real poems."[40] If Scherer's evaluation of Simms' skill as a poet is correct, then one may argue that an example of this author's "real poems" is to be observed in "The Forest Maid" which first appeared in The Book of My Lady[41] in 1833 and then was republished some two decades later in a greatly

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[39]Scott, p. 118.

[40]James A. B. Scherer, "William Gilmore Simms," in E. A. Alderman, et al., eds., Library of Southern Literature (Atlanta, Ga.: Martin and Hoyt Co., 1909-1913), XI, 4797.

[41]William Gilmore Simms, "The Forest Maid," in The Book of My Lady. A Melange. By A Bachelor Knight (Boston: Allen & Ticknor, 1833), pp. 52-59.

revised and enlarged version as "Pocahontas, A Legend of Old Virginia" when it was woven into the fabric of his novel Southward Ho![42] What Simms attempts in both the short and long versions of this piece is a detailed description of the events that occurred during that fateful day which came to its dramatic climax when Pocahontas rescued Captain Smith from what seemed to be certain death. The poet begins his narrative with a well-drawn character sketch of "the forest maid;" describes the child-parent relationship that exists between Powhatan and his daughter; traces the events of the day that led to Smith's being captured; dwells at length--each of these episodes is more fully developed in the longer version of the poem--on Powhatan's resolve that Smith must die; and has Pocahontas intercede to save the captain at the final dramatic instant, as the executioner's club begins its descent. Although Simms is, for the most part, merely repeating a story that by this time has been worn threadbare by repetition, his version has about it a dramatic pace which maintains the sense of breathless excitement that one would associate with a much shorter poem. Concerning either of Simms' versions of the story one might argue that it maintains interest; it entertains the reader; and to that extent, at least, it is a successful poem.

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[42]William Gilmore Simms, "Pocahontas, A Legend of Old Virginia," in Southward Ho! A Spell of Sunshine (New York: Redfield, 1854), pp. 109-23.

In 1836 James Kirke Paulding's "Ode To Jamestown" had the first of its many printings when it appeared in a gift book called The Magnolia.[43] Like many other poems that treat the Pocahontas-Smith materials, this contribution does not devote itself exclusively to these two characters. A visit to the ruins of Jamestown--a situation that has been noted earlier as a point of departure for Pocahontas poems--inspires the poet and moves him to record the thoughts and emotions which crowd into his mind and heart as he surveys all that remains on the site of the extinct colony. In twenty six-line stanzas Paulding writes of the settlement by the English, of conflicts between the white man and the red that follow, of the Indian's ultimate extermination, and of the rapid growth and progress of the new civilization after that time. In paying tribute to those who were primarily responsible for Jamestown's survival, the poet is lavish in his praise for Smith and his guardian "angel of the wild." Concerning Smith, he writes:

> The mighty shade now hovers round,--
> Of Him whose strange, yet bright career,
> Is written on this sacred ground
> In letters that no time can seer;

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[43]James Kirke Paulding, "Ode to Jamestown," in The Magnolia, ed. H. W. Herbert (New York: Monson Bancroft, 1836), pp. 31-35.

Who in the old world smote the turban'd
crew,
And founded Christian Empires in the
new.[44]

And of Pocahontas:

And she! the glorious Indian maid,
The tutelary of this land,
The angel of the woodland shade,
The miracle of God's own hand,
Who join'd man's heart to woman's softest
grace,
And thrice redeemed the scourges of her
race.

Sister of charity and love
Whose life blood was soft Pity's tide,
Dear goddess of the Sylvan grove,
Flower of the Forest, nature's pride,
He is no man who does not bend the knee,
And she no woman who is not like thee![45]

Throughout this piece Paulding expresses sympathy for the Indian in lines of considerable vigor in their tone and style and for the strength of patriotic sentiment found in them. All of this blends to make a very readable "Ode" which pays a fitting tribute to the role that Smith and Pocahontas played in the founding of the Virginia Colony.

An unsigned article, "Pocahontas, the Indian Princess,"[46] appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger in 1838 and concludes with a poem, "The Preservation of the Early Colonists From Massacre," by yet another anonymous

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[44]Paulding, "Ode," p. 34, ll. 91-96.

[45]Ibid., ll. 97-108.

[46]"Pocahontas, the Indian Princess," in Southern Literary Messenger, IV (April, 1838), 227-28.

author. This work, an eighty-four line poem which is divided into fourteen six-line stanzas, is written mostly in anapestic meter and has a rhyme scheme of aabccb. According to the author of the sketch in which they are presented, these verses were composed several years before their inclusion in his article. One knows, however, that they do not predate 1804, for they are introduced by a passage from Burk's History of Virginia which first appeared in that year. The action that is the basis for this piece is that which is associated with that frightful, stormy night when Pocahontas warned the colonists; but toward the end of the poem, the role of the princess in her earlier, more famous, preservation of Smith's life is recalled. Although these verses, generally speaking, are devoid of those qualities that usually cause a poem to be adjudged worthy of praise--subjectiveness, lyrical quality, and adroit handling of figurative language, for example--this narrative is stirring and it is told in a sincere, straightforward manner.

In a headnote to George Pope Morris's "The Chieftain's Daughter"--later published frequently as "Pocahontas"[47]--Rufus W. Griswold observes that this poem "is an example of a narrative song which represents a very

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[47]See, for example, B. E. Stevenson, ed., Poems of American History, rev. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), p. 39.

chaste style of art."[48] "It has," he continues, "the simplicity which is characteristic of the classic models and the purity which was once deemed an inseparable quality of the lyric poet."[49] Although this critic's judgment--as in the case of Poe, for example--is often suspect, one must agree with him here, for this twenty-four stanza ballad-like poem, which first appeared in the New York Mirror on Saturday, November 7, 1840, takes its place among the more impressive of the poetic treatments of the Pocahontas theme written during the nineteenth century. From its opening lines,

> Upon the barren sand
> A single captive stood[50]

which plunge the reader in medias res, to the climax of the action:

> Unbind him! gasped the chief
> It is your king's decree!
> He kissed away the tears of grief,
> And set the captive free.[51]

there is neither omission nor redundancy in the rapid, stirring movement which takes hold of the reader, sweeps him along, and commands his interest. Many readers, it is true,

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[48]Rufus W. Griswold, Poets and Poetry of America, 17th ed. grtly. rev. and enl. (Philadelphia: Parry and McMillan, 1856), p. 281.

[49]Ibid.

[50]George Pope Morris, "The Chieftain's Daughter," in New York Mirror, XVIII (Sat., Nov. 7, 1840), 153.

[51]Ibid.

may object to the rather obvious didacticism in the final four lines of the poem; but even here the sentiment expressed is appropriate so that the unity of the piece is not violated.

One of the longest of the Pocahontas poems, Pocahontas, A Legend: With Historical and Traditionary Notes[52] was penned by Mrs. Mary Webster Mosby,[53] who published this work in 1840 over the signature of Mrs. M. M. Webster. Mrs. Webster's one-hundred-and-fifty-odd page poem--divided into five books that depict five separate phases in the life of her subject--in its broad outlines follows the annals of history. But with some degree of the true poetic insight, license, and fancy which characterize a creative artist, she embroidered the narrative line but only raised it a bit above the level of performance which one would expect from a non-fiction prose piece. "These traditionary incidents," Mrs. Webster says, "it has been the author's endeavor to weave into wild and simple measures divested of much of the extraneous ornament which fashion sometimes imposes."[54] All the facets

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[52]Mary Webster Mosby [Mrs. M. M. Webster], Pocahontas, A Legend: With Historical and Traditionary Notes (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1840).

[53]For a brief biographical sketch of Mrs. Mosby, see Lyon G. Tyler, ed. Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1915), II, 323.

[54]Mosby [Webster], "Introduction," p. v.

of the Pocahontas story are included here, but strange to say, the most widely circulated part of the legend--that concerning Pocahontas's intercession on behalf of Smith--is only mentioned in passing. At first the reason for such slighting of this scene seems difficult to fathom. It may be, however, that Mrs. Webster--aware of the degree to which the Smith episode had been exploited by earlier writers--resolves to dwell upon the less well-known, but no less romantic, segments of the story. Also, since the "fair Matoa" holds center stage in the action from the first to the last line of the work, it may be that the author wants no character with the heroic proportions of a John Smith to detract from the true focus of interest in her poem, Pocahontas.

It yet remains to comment briefly on the material quality of Mrs. Webster's poem, and here is the work's Achilles' heel. It is a veritable hodgepodge of uneven performance--a patchwork which consists of the insertion of a few scattered lyrical highlights into a frame of longer passages that are devoted to heroic measure. Since the latter type of verse creates a characteristic monotony that easily becomes tiresome to the reader, it is in the freedom of the lyric that this author's effort becomes the most successful. One could only wish that these poetically brilliant flights occurred with greater frequency within

this work to relieve the often drab, shadowy, and indistinct depiction of an object, a character, or a situation.

Judged strictly on the basis of numbers, 1841 was a banner year for the production of Pocahontas poems; for during that twelve-month span, no less than three lengthy verse treatments saw their way through the presses. "Pocahontas,"[55] the first of these, was produced by a New Englander, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, and was generously hailed by at least one critic as being "one of the most subjective, imaginative, and reflective contributions to the canon of Pocahontas poems."[56] Only by the most diligent searching, however, can the reader find the threads of the Pocahontas story here. For the truth is that the author pauses so frequently to meditate upon her favorite themes--religion, reverence for God, woman's place in the world, parental and filial affection, and love of country--that one is hard put to discover the presence of a consecutively developed narrative. In short, the objective narrative only serves to suggest subjects which give Mrs. Sigourney pause to editorialize. These editorials are interesting, but they do not make for any adequate telling of the Pocahontas story.

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[55]Lydia H. Sigourney, Pocahontas and Other Poems (London: Robert Tyas, 1841), pp. 1-29.

[56]"Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney," in Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, Cyclopedia of American Literature (New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1865), II, 136.

In its clear and simple relation of the Pocahontas story in undecorated, literal language which at times makes it read almost like a prose piece, the second of these 1841 works, Powhatan: A Metrical Romance, by Seba Smith,[57] seems to be the very antithesis of Mrs. Sigourney's "Pocahontas." Here, however, there is more evidence of the author's having tampered with the earlier historical narrative line than one finds in Mrs. Sigourney's version. True, this author delivers her narrative in widely detached chunks while Smith presents a smoother, more continuous narrative line; but Sigourney, for all the broken quality of her narrative, maintains a greater fidelity than does the author of Powhatan to the facts and to the chronological arrangement that is found in John Smith's Generall Historie of Virginia. One of the major reasons for such alterations in the story line is, perhaps, the fact that Powhatan is the central figure in Seba Smith's poem and that "Metoka" [Matoaca], although she retains her usual positive qualities, plays a secondary role in this version of the story. For this reason, if no other, the various episodes are altered and rearranged by this author in a manner that will highlight the qualities of his central character. This is truly a pro-Indian, anti-white-settler poem.

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[57]Seba Smith, Powhatan: A Metrical Romance in Seven Cantos (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841).

Finally, there also appeared in 1841 a poem by William Watson Waldron, the least known of the three authors of Pocahontas poems that appeared during this year, which bears the title "Pocahontas, Princess of Virginia."[58] This work falls somewhere between the extremes of Mrs. Sigourney's reflective approach with its widely separated bits of narrative, and the almost "bare bones" approach taken by Seba Smith which provides one with narrative and little else. Waldron divides his poem into two cantos, each of which is subdivided into twenty-four stanzas that, for the most part, are made up of eight iambic pentameter lines which are arranged in couplets. The story unfolds from section to section of Waldron's work with almost ballad-like swiftness, but the poet is not above pausing--Sigourney fashion--to comment on some theme that an incident in the action suggests. At the end of Canto I, for example, just after the Indian princess has rescued Smith, the poet comments on the positive qualities of all women as he writes:

> O woman:--fairest boon that heaven
> bestowed,
> How oft has mercy from thy bosom flowed.
> Pure source of feeling--friendship--love
> divine--
> Oh, what wert man but for thy holy
> shrine?
> Only abode of bliss without alloy,
> Chaste sanctuary for his grief or joy.

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[58]William Watson Waldron, Pocahontas and Other Poems (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841).

If adoration were allowed to thee:
Idolators!--how many would there be?[59]

Such interjection of reflective passages does not hinder the progress of the story, however, as the poem proceeds in Canto II to deal with the many services that Pocahontas--first as an Indian maid and then as the wife of John Rolfe--performed on behalf of the colonists, to tell of her visit to England, and to relate the circumstances of her untimely death. All in all, Waldron has captured the best aspects of both Mrs. Sigourney's and Seba Smith's efforts to treat the Pocahontas story, and in so doing he has produced one of the most effective of the verse treatments of the theme that graced this or any other year within the scope of the present survey.

For almost fifteen years after these three works appeared, poets seemed to turn away from the use of the Pocahontas theme as a subject for their verse. One can only guess at the reasons for this situation. Perhaps such a period of silence might stem from the fact that constant treatment of the theme by writers in all genres during the first four decades of the nineteenth century might have seemed to have wrung the story dry of any possibility of fresh treatments. Another reason might be related to the temporary lessening of the vogue of the "noble savage" with the American reading and theater-going public. Also, it

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[59]Waldron, p. 25.

could have been that there was simply no poet during these years who was moved to deal with the saga of the Indian princess. Whatever the reason (or reasons), the fact is that no poetic work treating the Pocahontas theme has been found[60] which was produced between 1841 and 1855.

With the approach of the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, however, this period of poetic dormancy came to an end as a few poets--mostly native sons of Virginia--again turned their attention to the story. In 1855 the silence was broken when James Avis Bartley's "Pocahontas" was included in a volume which he issued as Lays of Ancient Virginia and Other Poems.[61] Here, in the dignified and solemn strains of twenty-eight Spenserian stanzas, one finds a poem which is reminiscent of Mrs. Sigourney's earlier mentioned "Pocahontas" in its emotional, imaginative, and reflective qualities. But Bartley produces a better connected narrative sequence, an alternately leaping and lingering effect which is derived from introducing rapidly told

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[60]There exists among the papers of the Norfolk poet William Maxwell, which are housed at the library of the Virginia Historical Society, an outline for "Lines of Verse on John Smith and Pocahontas: A Poem in Six Cantos." This proposal was completed about 1850, but there is no evidence to show that the work ever got beyond the planning stage.

[61]James Avis Bartley, "Pocahontas," in Lays of Ancient Virginia and Other Poems (Richmond, Va.: J. W. Randolph, 1855), pp. 7-15.

snatches of narrative into the first lines of each stanza and then devoting the last lines of each unit to reflective and emotional pauses that are related to that action. One might think that this would give the reader the up-and-down sensation like riding on a seesaw, but in Bartley's poem the technique is handled so smoothly that compared to other Pocahontas poems written at the time, this peice becomes a very rhythmically pleasurable one.

James Barron Hope, widely renowned as "the laureate of the Old Dominion," wrote an ode-like poem to be delivered on May 13, 1857--the formal celebration day of the bicentennial of the founding of Jamestown. In this work, which turns out to be a kind of elegiac poem dealing with the vanishing Indian race, the poet pays a glowing tribute to Pocahontas:

> Had I the power, I'd reverently
> describe,
> That peerless maid--the "pearl of all
> her tribe,"
> As evening fair when coming night and
> day
> Contend together which shall wield its
> sway.
> But, here abashed, my paltry fancy
> stays;
> For her, too humble its most stately
> lays.
> . . . . . .
> Her name shall linger, nor with age grow
> faint;
> Its simple sound--the image of a saint.[62]

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[62]James Barron Hope, A Poem Pronounced by James Barron Hope on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of

In the January 1861 issue of Harper's New Monthly Magazine there appeared verses by John Esten Cooke entitled "A Dream of Cavaliers," in which the poet devotes several lines to John Smith and Pocahontas. Cooke first traces Smith's pre-American career and then observes:

> But here, in the purple sunset,
> He has met with a fairer flower!
>
> She comes!--like a fawn of the forest,
> With a bearing mild and meek,
> The blood of a line of chieftains
> Rich in her golden cheek.[63]

Having penned these portraits of both the hero and the heroine of Jamestown's early days, the poet then repeats the rescue story:

> You have heard the moving story
> Of the days of long ago;
> How the tender girlish bosom
> Shrunk not from the deadly blow:
>
> How the valiant son of England,
> In the woodland drear and wild,
> Was saved from the savage war-club
> By the courage of a child.[64]

And then Cooke concludes this section of his poem:

> And now in the light of glory
> The noble figures stand--
> The founder of Virginia,
> And the pride of the Southern land![65]

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the English Settlement at Jamestown, May 13th, 1857 (Richmond, Va.: C. H. Wynne, 1857), pages not numbered.

[63]John Esten Cooke, "A Dream of Cavaliers," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XIII (Jan., 1861), 253.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

By whatever standards one measures it, Joseph H. Martin's Smith and Pocahontas: A Poem[66] is a very poor poetic effort, indeed. In a prefactory "note" the author tells us that most of this work was composed some six years before its publication and expresses doubts about offering his poem to the public.[67] Even a cursory reading of the work shows one that such misgivings were well founded. If the level of Martin's verse seldom rises above doggerel, the quality of his story line is no better. Though the Indian princess shares equal prominence in the title of the work, the narrative which Martin develops is one part Pocahontas and ninety-nine parts Smith. Indeed, the rescue scene, which occurs early in the poem, is the only episode in which Powhatan's daughter is involved, and this occupies but three of the poem's one hundred and thirty-five pages. The Southern Literary Messenger quite charitably dismisses this work with a single line: "Readable, but not of the highest order of merit."[68]

Also in 1862 there appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger a sketch, "Pocahontas, or the Lady Rebecca" by

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[66]Joseph Hamilton Martin, Smith and Pocahontas: A Poem (Richmond, Va.: West and Johnston, 1862).

[67]Ibid., p. 3.

[68]"Notices of New Works," Southern Literary Messenger, XXXVI (Jan., 1863), 64.

W. S. Bogart,[69] which included a short poetic passage treating the Pocahontas theme. This fragment is introduced into the article at that point where the Indian princess throws herself upon the prostrate body of Smith to protect him from the upraised club, and it reads:

> How could the stern old King deny
> The angel-pleading in her eye?
> How mock the sweet imploring grace;
> That breathed in beauty from her face,
> And to her kneeling action gave
> A power to soothe and still subdue,
> Until, though humble as a slave,
> To more than queenly sway she grew?
> Oh! brief the doubt--Oh! short the
> strife;
> She wins the captive's forfeit life.[70]

Three years later, in 1865, Pocahontas, or the Founding of Virginia[71] by Oliver Prescott Hiller appeared. Written in neatly chiseled Spenserian stanzas, this three-canto-length poem is, as are most of the Pocahontas pieces, the work of an artisan or versifier rather than that of a poet. The work traces, with unwavering fidelity, the story of the early settlement of Virginia as it first appeared in the Generall Historie. The most notable feature of Hiller's work is the very apparent lack of imagination

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[69]See above, pp. 160-61 for a discussion of the prose portion of this article.

[70]W. S. Bogart, "Pocahontas, or the Lady Rebecca," Southern Literary Messenger, XXXIV-XXXV (Nov.-Dec., 1862), 642.

[71]Thomas Oliver Prescott [Oliver Prescott Hiller], Pocahontas, or the Founding of Virginia (New York: Mason Brothers, 1865).

which the poet brings to his task. One may argue that as verse Hiller's work has a quality of rhythm and diction about it that is greatly reflective of John Smith's prose.

In Sallie A. Brock's "The Story of the Powhatan,"[72] which appeared in 1869, an unusual approach is taken to the treatment of the Pocahontas theme. This poem, a four hundred and fifty-eight line work which includes irregular verse forms, meters, and rhyme schemes, traces the story of the James River and all that happened along its banks from the settlement at Jamestown through the Civil War era. In treating the early conflicts between the red man and the white, Miss Brock retells the romantic story of Pocahontas's first intercession with fate on behalf of John Smith. She only relates the episode up to a certain point in her own verses, however; then she inserts that section of John Esten Cooke's "A Dream of Cavaliers" which deals with the rescue scene. Finally she returns to the fruits of her own pen for a nostalgic look at all that remained as a tangible memorial of that "noble girl" in 1869:

> A crumbling tower now marks the spot,
> Dismantled of ivy, 'twould perchance be
> forgot,
> In the silence that reigns unbroken
> around,

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[72]Sallie A. Brock [Virginia Madison], "The Story of the Powhatan," in The Southern Amaranth, ed. Sallie A. Brock (New York: George S. Wilcox, 1869), pp. 46-60.

Too sacred and deep for the world's busy
round--
Did not History e'er it her bright
mantle fling,
In a drapery of love, and enchantingly
sing
Where the young Indian queen, her
trusting heart gave,
With her hand, and her life, to the
Englishman brave!
A monument grand of the days long gone
by,
And we gaze on the ruin, with a sweet,
tender sigh.[73]

"Uniquely different" is a phrase that may be employed in describing the general effect of John Edward Howell's "Pocahontas," a long verse treatment of the theme which also appeared in 1869.[74] What sets this poet's effort apart from other handlings of these materials is the fact that the usual development of a closely-knit story, such as is found to a greater or lesser degree in earlier Pocahontas poems, is not found here. Episodes in the story are not told at all per se, but are only employed as points of departure for a series of one hundred and thirty-seven reflective lyrics. These comment--either directly or indirectly--upon such aspects of the Indian maid's career as: Pocahontas, the unspoiled child of nature; Pocahontas, a second Eve who becomes the "mother of an Empire;" Pocahontas as woman, wife, and mother; and finally,

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[73]Brock, p. 51.

[74]John Edward Howell, "Pocahontas," in Poems (New York: Published by the Author, 1869), I, 9-185.

Pocahontas, whose untimely death is a vivid example of the adage that "all too frequently, the good and the beautiful die in their youth." All of Howell's partial portraits of Pocahontas are drawn with bold strokes and reflect the Indian princess in a positive light, but the same can hardly be said of the poet's depiction of the two Englishmen who play the most important roles in her life. Smith generally remains the cavalier and Rolfe the gentleman, but both at times become the "serpent" in an American Eden who would beguile this "angel of the wild" in all her innocence. The somewhat veiled accusatory tone that Howell assumes at times toward Smith and Rolfe may, to some degree, reflect the negative attitudes toward these two that Charles Deane and his circle were promulgating. Howell never attacks, however, with the venom which characterized Smith's severest critics. If one is completely familiar with the episodes of the Pocahontas legend, he can follow Howell's development of his theme without too much trouble. For those who are unacquainted with the story, however, this work is apt to seem like a "mish mash" rather than a coherently developed set of lyrics.

For more than a decade after Howell no versifier elected to publish another treatment of the Pocahontas theme. This hiatus probably can be attributed to the story's general loss of favor during a period when Smith, Rolfe, and sometimes even Pocahontas herself were being

made the subject of ridicule by Charles Deane and his circle. This group of antiquarian scholars and popular writers seemed to delight in questioning Smith's veracity and in casting aspersions upon the moral character not only of Smith but upon that of John Rolfe and his Indian bride as well. But as such vitriolic critical attacks have a way of doing, this one also subsided, and during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century the appearance of two short poetic treatments of Pocahontas materials anticipated the numerous handlings of the theme that were to appear in the early 1900's.

The period of neglect by writers of verse came to an end with the appearance in 1882 of James Barron Hope's set of lyrics entitled "Three Names," which were included in a group of "Additional Poems" that were appended to the poet's metrical address Arms and the Man.[75] After the title poem of this set and a short piece addressed to "Sir Walter Raleigh," the last two lyrics in the group bear the sub-titles "Captain John Smith" and "Pocahontas," respectively. In the opening lines of the first poem of this pair, Smith's yeoman heritage is mentioned, but in the progress of the piece the yeoman lad rises continuously until he becomes "at last a figure resolute and grand,"

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[75]James Barron Hope, Arms and The Man: A Metrical Address (Norfolk: Va.: Landmark Publishing Company, 1882), pp. 92-95.

who knows "how to obey and better to command."[76] It is for Pocahontas, however, that the author reserves the best effort in the four pieces. For in diction as finished, in mood as fanciful, and with feelings as warm and deep as those he expressed in "The Jamestown Anniversary Ode" of 1857,[77] Hope pens another tribute to the preserver of the English settlement:

> Her story sure was fashioned out above,
> Ere 'twas errected on the scene below!
> For 'twas a very miracle of love
> When from the savage hawk's nest came
> the dove
> With wings of peace to stay the ordered
> blow--
> The hawk's plumes bloody, but the dove's
> as snow!
>
> And here my heart oppressed by pleasant
> tears
> Yield to a young girl's half angelic
> spell--
> Yes, for that maiden like a Saint
> sppears;
> She needs no fresco, stone, nor shrine
> to tell
> Her story to the people of this Land--
> Saint of the Wilderness, enthroned amid
> The wooded Minister where the Pagan
> hid![78]

Some five years after Hope's lyrics appeared, Margaret Junkin Preston's "The Last Meeting of Pocahontas

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[76]Hope, Arms, p. 94.

[77]For a discussion of this poem, see above, pp. 357-58.

[78]Hope, Arms, p. 95.

and the Great Captain."[79] a twelve-stanza piece written in tercets, was published in 1887. As its title indicates the action of this poem centers around the somewhat pathetic meeting which occurred between Smith and Pocahontas during the latter's visit to England--an episode which is graphically described by Smith in the Generall Historie and which is probably second only to the rescue episode in its dramatic impact. The circumstances which underlie the surface action that occurs in this work--the romantic attachment which Pocahontas felt, and still feels, for Smith and the ruse concerning the captain's reported death which allowed the Indian princess to bring herself to marry Rolfe--are poignantly presented in the emotional and vocal responses to Smith that are attributed to the heroine. Although its lines are metrically rough--perhaps by design--such qualities as compactness, a sense of dramatically rapid movement, and an artful use of dialogue make Mrs. Preston's ballad-like poem worthy of the reader's time.

As has been the case with other genres that have been examined in earlier chapters of the present study, the Jamestown Exposition of 1907 also inspired several verse treatments of the Pocahontas story. Though at times these

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[79]Margaret Junkin Preston, Colonial Ballads and Sonnets and Other Verses (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1887), pp. 44-47.

treatments are found in poems that are devoted solely to this theme, in other instances the story of the Indian maid is but one of the threads of Virginiana that is woven into the piece.

In 1906 Mrs. Virginia Armistead Garber published a relatively short volume of verse, Pocahontas,[80] which is devoted in its entirety to a rapid moving account of the major events in the life of Powhatan's favorite daughter. Written in the style and meter which was made popular by Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha," the story, which is told by Pocahontas's handmaid Omawada, is generally a reflection of the accounts found in the works of Smith and his contemporaries. Beginning with events in the childhood of the Indian princess, the poem proceeds to trace her life up to the time of her death in England. One point of particular interest that is purely the product of Mrs. Garber's imagination, however, involves a dream-vision which the Indian girl experienced when she was but twelve years of age. In anticipation of the arrival of the white men, Pocahontas saw "giant winged" and "thunderladen" ships and:

> Then the white robed one spoke to her
> Whispered soft like breeze of evening,
> That the God who made the heavens,
> And the earth and all things therein,
> Wished her to befriend the white man,
> She the little Indian maiden,

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[80]Virginia Armistead Garber, Pocahontas (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1906).

She the guardian of the white man
Who was coming o'er the ocean.[81]

Offering such a mystical basis for the concern which Pocahontas shows toward Smith and the white settlers gives the material a new approach which anticipates Hart Crane's "Powhatan's Daughter." One can only wish that the whole of Mrs. Garber's presentation had such freshness.

Also published in 1906, but of much less importance then Mrs. Garber's work as a treatment of the Pocahontas theme, was Old Jamestown[82] by the Danville poetess, Flora L. Mack. In this sixteen-page pamphlet-like volume of verse written in ballad meter, Mrs. Mack conjures up in rapid succession many forms and faces from the early days of the Jamestown settlement. Among these eminent early Virginians who appear here are, of course, Captain Smith and Pocahontas. But because of the brevity of the poem and the scope of the subject which the author proposes to cover, there are no comprehensive or finished portraits of either character in this work.

In examining the materials published during the year of the Jamestown Exposition, 1907, no fewer than ten verse pieces which develop fully, or at least mention, the Pocahontas theme have been discovered. Four of

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[81]Garber, p. 5.

[82]Flora Lapham Mack, Old Jamestown, an Historical Poem (Richmond, Va.: Press of the Dietz Printing Co., 1906).

these[83] make up a set of lyrics by four different authors--three Virginians and one Tennessean--which are included in a volume entitled Jamestown Tributes and Toasts.[84] Each of these pieces alludes to the noble services performed on behalf of the colonists by the Indian maid, but none of them captures the spirit of the occasion better than the tribute offered by Nora L. C. Scott:

> To the gentle daughter of a savage sire;
> The dauntless savior of a gallant gentleman!
> Loyal in her friendship
> Tender in her womanliness,
> Picturesque in the pages of history, and
> Pathetic in the brevity of her life,
> Pocahontas, Princess and Pearl of Virginia.[85]

Pocahontas: A Poem[86] by Virginia Carter Castleman also appeared during Jamestown's tercentennial year. In this forty-four page narrative poem, which is written mostly in unrhymed verse with an occasional couplet at the beginning or the end of its unevenly divided sections, the story line seems to be so dominant that it should cause the

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[83]These four pieces include: "To Pocahontas," by Evan R. Chesterman of Richmond, Va.; "Matoaca," by John T. Maginnis of Norfolk, Va.; "Pocahontas," by Nora L. C. Scott of Radford, Va.; and "Pocahontas," by Marian Sheffy of Bristol, Tennessee.

[84]Julia Wyatt Bullard, ed., Jamestown Tributes and Toasts (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell and Company, 1907).

[85]Ibid., p. 40.

[86]Virginia Carter Castleman, Pocahontas: A Poem (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1907).

work to be unified, but it does not. In the main the narrative follows Smith's Generall Historie, but Miss Castleman supplies a few bits of information that are foreign to her source. Contrary to Smith's version of the story, for example, is this author's revelation that the English captain's rescue by the Indian princess was well publicized among the colonists and was generally discussed soon after it occurred. In spite of such mild attempts at embroidery, however, there are few qualities of a well-told story or of a well-written poem to be found in Miss Castleman's work. There is too much pure history and too little of legend; too much melodrama and too little depth of emotion; too much "gimmickry" and too little grace of style. For example, frequent omission of pronouns and articles in those passages which attempt to imitate the patterns of Indian speech tends to give them a broken staccate-like quality which resembles the disjointed and unpleasing rhythms of speech that one finds in a telegraphic dispatch. One can only suppose that Miss Castleman's effort--deficient as it is in inspiration or artistry--was the product of its author's desire to produce a poem which she felt would be read because of its link with the events of the Jamestown Tercentenary.

Four-, five-, and eight-line stanzas as well as rhymed couplets, which are arranged in verse paragraphs of somewhat greater length, are employed in The Jamestown

Princess,[87] Anna Cunningham Cole's sixty-seven page contribution to the celebration of Jamestown's anniversary. Although a great deal of historical material is included in the twenty divisions of this work which are devoted to relating the activities of Pocahontas as she constantly interceded on behalf of the early Virginia settlers, the facts presented are arranged in no coherent, consecutive narrative order that corresponds to the chronology of history. Like earlier versifiers, dating back to Mrs. Sigourney's "Pocahontas," this author's method is to relate an important incident from her heroine's life, and then, in passages that are more imaginative and reflective than narrative, to record the impressions that this episode has made upon her mind. The poem which results in this case is not really successful, however, because without a well defined narrative thread to build upon, the author has produced a vague, disconnected, and uneven piece which is deficient in concreteness and order.

Of the several 1907 Pocahontas poems which have been located, Jessie T. Littleton's The Story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas[88] is probably the best. The

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[87]Anna Cunningham Cole, The Jamestown Princess, Pocahontas Legends, Souvenir Edition (Norfolk, Va.: Published by the author, 1907).

[88]Jessie T. Littleton, The Story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas: A Souvenir of the Jamestown Exposition (Nashville, Tenn., Pub. House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1907).

story, as told in this ninety-four page verse treatment of the theme, begins with an idyllic sort of picture of Virginia as a peaceful but savage, wild but beautiful country before the white man's arrival at Jamestown and ends with the death of Pocahontas in England. Between these two extremes of the narrative, all the important incidents in the romantic life story of the Indian girl are related in a coherent chronological order which closely follows John Smith's accounts. While there is a unity which is derived from the entire narrative sequence, however, each of the twenty divisions of Littleton's poem is, in truth, a separate poem in itself. Another pleasing aspect of Littleton's work is to be found in the skillful way that the poet handles his verse medium so as to match meters, rhymes, and stanzaic forms to the action at any given point. There are sonnets, blank verse passages, ballads, and five- and six-line stanzas; and these are not used capriciously, but with the situation which they are to reflect well in mind. The light, fanciful, more lyrical passages are reserved for action that projects these moods; while those poetic forms that offer a more serious, stately and dignified strain are employed as an accompaniment to the poem's darker scenes. An eye which is aware of the breath-taking beauty in a natural setting and a heart attuned to deep religious and patriotic feelings are combined in this poem with Littleton's poetic abilities and

his excitement over retelling the Pocahontas story to produce a work which, if it cannot be called a masterpiece, is certainly a rather satisfying rendition.

Three short poems of the 1907 vintage complete the body of verse which treated the Pocahontas theme during the year of Jamestown's three hundredeth anniversary. The first of these, "Pocahontas: Bright Stream That Runs Between Two Hills," by Helen W. Ludlow,[89] begins with the standard sequence of events that is associated with the story of the Indian maid. The poem ends uniquely, however, with the heroine offering a plea for racial harmony and peace among the peoples and nations of the world in the twentieth century:

> Will they hearken once more as my people
> of yore
> To the message I speak from above--
> That the Great Spirit sends?--"Let the
> Races be friends:
> Let the bond of the Nations be Love!"[90]

Such a conclusion is certainly different, but it is not to be wondered at since its author had been closely associated for over thirty years with the administration of Hampton Institute the pioneer black educational center at the time of its composition. The second of these brief pieces,

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[89]Helen W. Ludlow, "Pocahontas: Bright Stream That Runs Between Two Hills," Southern Workman, XXXVI (April, 1907), 208-11.

[90]Ibid., p. 211.

"Pocahontas" by R. C. Nash,[91] praises Pocahontas as the "mother of a nation." This poem was apparently composed purely for commercial purposes, for its only appearance seems to have been on the picture portion of a postal card which was sold as a souvenir of the Jamestown Exposition. Finally, in an ode[92] read at the Jamestown Birthday Celebration held on May 13, 1907, by Benjamin Moomaw, one finds the poet speaking of Smith as he says:

> A vivid light illumes the tragic page,--
> A hero rises to eternal fame,
> A strong, true man, and every coming age
> Shall add its praises to his immortal name.[93]

The attention of the poet then turns to Pocahontas and treats her in similar fashion:

> Wild flower of the primal wood, thou famed,
> Gentle Diana of the forest glen,
> Like the sweet fragrances of the rose that flamed
> Upon the helmets of heroic men,
> So shall thy name descend to future days,
> And so our reverent hearts proclaim thy praise.[94]

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[91]R. C. Nash's "Pocahontas" is printed on the face of a souvenir postal card sold at the Jamestown Exposition and is to be found at the Virginia Historical Society library in a collection of memorabilia of that celebration.

[92]Benjamin C. Moomaw, "Jamestown Tercentenary Ode" in Alderman, et al., Library of Southern Literature, XVI, 140-42.

[93]Ibid., p. 141.

[94]Ibid.

In the positive image of the Indian princess which they project, these lines from Moomaw's "Ode" form a most appropriate conclusion to a survey of Pocahontas poems that were produced in America between 1803 and 1907. If, as was suggested earlier in this study, the Pocahontas drama is interesting partly because it reflects so closely the vicissitudes in the popular appeal of the legend of the Indian maid, the poetry based on this same theme is equally interesting partly because it is relatively impervious to these same forces. In spite of the vogue of satire which followed Brougham and the vogue of attack which followed Deane, there is a degree of consistency among Pocahontas poets who always praise their heroine and deal kindly with her English gentleman friends--Smith and Rolfe--most of the time. This unanimity of attitude is a situation which rarely occurs when almost half a hundred poets writing over a span of a bit more than a century come to treat a common subject. Nevertheless, from John Davis's "I sigh and call upon my Indian maid," to Moomaw's "And so our reverent hearts proclaim thy praise," it is almost always the same. It is true that there were two periods when the theme's lack of popular appeal perhaps caused poets to avoid the use of the story of Powhatan's daughter; but when they wrote about her at all, it was generally in glowing tribute. One might certainly wish that the theme had fallen into stronger poetic hands during the period under consideration,

but no one can fault the Pocahontas poets of this period for a lack of either enthusiasm for their task or admiration for their subject.

CHAPTER VII

AFTERWORD

Take one magnanimous Indian maid, one swashbuckling English adventurer who is the acknowledged leader of a wary group of settlers, and one enterprising--but lonely--young Virginia planter who falls deeply in love with the Indian girl. Project these characters against the backdrop of an uncharted and challenging wilderness with its marvelously strange blend of tawny natives and zoological and botanical wonders. This is the stuff from which "high romance" can be fashioned. Interesting enough when it is only the product of an author's lively imagination, such a story gains an even greater appeal when it has some basis in fact. Perhaps it was Captain John Smith's acute sense of the nature of the contemporary popular taste that caused him to emphasize these very elements when he came to write the original versions of the Pocahontas story. Certainly it is these very attributes that have caused this "pretty, romantic story" to hold a place of almost uninterrupted prominence among the popular traditions of the American nation. With the story's continuing popularity in mind, it has been the purpose of this study to examine the development of the Pocahontas theme as it was treated by American historians, prose-fiction writers, playwrights,

and poets during a three-century period that begins with the rescue--real or purported--of Captain Smith by Pocahontas late in 1607 or early in 1608 and that ends with the gala celebration of Jamestown's Tercentenary during 1907 and 1908.

In the process of tracing the growth of the Pocahontas story and of examining its utilization in fact-centered non-fiction prose or in imaginative creative presentations, some ninety-five non-fiction works, twenty-one fiction pieces, seventeen plays, and fifty poems of varying lengths have been examined. This list may seem to represent an impressive number of pieces, but it does not pretend to be an all-inclusive one. The list does seem however, to represent a balanced sampling of pieces which reflect the various stances that were assumed by authors who treated the Pocahontas materials during the period under consideration.

In the study of these many presentations of the vital role which Pocahontas played in the preservation of Captain Smith's life, of the Jamestown colony, and ultimately of the Anglo-Saxon culture in the American wilderness, much attention has necessarily been given to views of the Indian culture which were presented by various authors. The philosophy of primitivism and the concept of the noble savage, as it can be observed in the various depictions of the Indian setting and of the character of

the Indian princess, have therefore never been very far away from the center of the discussion. Even in the hands of those authors who have taken Captain Smith or Master Rolfe to task for being less than honest, the image of Pocahontas, with a few exceptions, has remained unsullied. And to balance realistically this almost too positive image of Pocahontas--the "good Indian" elevated to angelic status--we have found at almost every juncture in this study the author's presentation of a less than admirable character--either red man or white--who, by contrast, serves only to enhance the nobility of his heroine.

The journey taken in the course of surveying the development of the Pocahontas story up to and including 1908 generally leads away from the mainstream of American literature and toward the exploration of the literary rivulets that are considered the domain of the minor writer. Although the works that are encountered there usually leave much to be desired with regard to their artistic merit, the trip still can be an interesting and a rewarding one if one considers the degree to which the various handlings of the theme are reflective of the temper of the time in which they were written. As with all great "matters" of national-cultural romance, the Pocahontas materials have remained in a constant state of flux--being brought alive in the political, spiritual, and literary fashions or modes of each new age.

In the realm of politics, for example, one finds that Robert Beverley (The History of the Present State of Virginia, 1705) generally is a rather biting satirist and realist when he deals with most episodes from early Virginia history. He yet can see the significances, however, in the actions and in each major character involved in the Pocahontas story and presents the whole matter sympathetically--albeit there is a bit of tongue-in-cheek comment about the appropriateness of white men taking Indian wives. In treating these same materials other historians certainly tend to reflect at least one side of their own era. William Stith, as a case in point, in The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (1753), not only follows Smith but cautiously makes a point as a pro-Revolutionary liberal when he speaks in veiled terms against the pomposity of James II. Without Stith's need for caution, John Daly Burk (The History of Virginia from its first Settlement to the Present Day, 1804-16), in his open denunciation of the position taken by a British monarch who takes offense at Rolfe's marriage to an Indian princess, speaks out as an ardent democrat--a Democrat, a Jeffersonian, and an adopted son of Virginia. All things considered, however, there is perhaps no greater instance of partisan bias with regard to handling the Pocahontas theme than that which appears in the writings of those who were involved in the great debate over the veracity of Smith and

the moral character of Rolfe and Pocahontas. Charles Deane, who conveniently spawned these doubts on the eve of the Civil War, and his two compatriots, Henry Adams and Charles Dudley Warner, represent a partisan "pro-Northern" view which aimed at debunking all things Southern. Such writers as William Wirt Henry and John Fiske, on the other hand, vigorously refute all accusations made by Deane and his circle against these three of the South's most cherished cultural heroes. At best, this debate was a standoff with neither side really convincing the other, and so it continues with claim and counterclaim spilling over even into the present day. The fairly recent scholarship of Bradford Smith and Laura Polyani Striker ("Rehabilitation of Captain John Smith," 1962) has for the time, at least, tipped the scales of this argument in the English captain's favor, but the last word in this debate probably has not been heard.

John Davis, an English novelist-traveler-poet, first introduced fictional treatment of the Pocahontas story at the outset of the nineteenth century. In his several handlings of these materials, Davis mostly employed the pre-Romantic sentimental approach to his theme, but (as in all his works) he managed to mix this approach with realism and the rationalism of the Englightenment. In so doing he anticipated each of the directions to be taken by the nineteenth century American novel (the prose romance which

in turn gave way to dominance by the local color school and then by the early realists) and thus established a pattern that was generally followed in fictional treatments of the Pocahontas story during the 1800's and even to the present day. The philosophy of primitivism which caused the depiction of Pocahontas as the epitome of the "noble savage;" the imaginative development of a "romantic love" interest between the Indian girl and either John Smith or John Rolfe or both; the realistic description of the wilderness setting and its impact on the life style of both white man and red which leads in the direction of local color--all these elements hold a place of prominence in Davis's Pocahontas fiction. Since this is true, the pattern established by Davis remained popular and was merely modified to meet the needs of the fiction writer who chose to treat the Pocahontas story in each new age. As in Davis's first characterization of her, so the Indian maid remained the "angel of the wild" and Captain Smith (or sometimes Master Rolfe) the swashbuckling "cavalier" type wherever they appeared as protagonists in nineteenth and early twentieth century fiction. In My Lady Pokahontas (1885) John Esten Cooke employed the novel form to answer Northern attacks on these Virginia heroes, and in Mary Virginia Wall's The Daughter of Virginia Dare (1908) a myth concerning Pocahontas's half-white, half-red parentage is weakly developed. Perhaps there is too much of myth in both

the story and its characters to appeal to the early realists. Whatever the reason, writers in this school tend to ignore the Pocahontas theme. But that the potential for new and artistic fictional handling of the story is there is evident in the "maidenhead myth" that is presented in the Smith-Pocahontas episode which appears in John Barth's The Sot-Weed Factor (1960). Here one finds, combined with satire, symbolic projections that parallel the Pocahontas theme's development by modern poets and that even suggests "myth" in Northrup Frye's sense of the word.

Of all the literary genres which have been examined with regard to creative treatment of the Pocahontas theme, none, perhaps, reveals the vicissitudes of the story's popularity more clearly than the drama. The early nineteenth century demand by the young American nation for a national literature with American subjects in an American setting was readily met by the Indian play, and among the most popular of these were the serious Pocahontas plays that graced the first four decades of that period. Aside from meeting this demand, these plays also were being written at a time when the philosophy of primitivism was experiencing its greatest vogue in America, and characterizing Pocahontas as the very epitome of "the unspoiled child of nature" gave these productions an added appeal. As frequently is the case with any popular idea, however, the appeal of the "noble savage" reached its zenith and gradually began to

lose some of its magnetism for audience and author alike. There were just so many things that reasonably could be done with the "good Indian" on stage, and with this limitation in mind, John Brougham launched out in a new direction as he burlesqued the "serious" Indian play and gently ridiculed the idea of the "noble savage." From the appearance of Brougham's Po-Ca-Hon-Tas (1855) and of the politically motivated attacks that were leveled at Smith, Rolfe, and Pocahontas by Charles Deane and his circle some five years later, few playwrights ventured to treat the Pocahontas story in a serious way. Of the handful who did, it remained for Paul Green, whose "Symphonic Outdoor Drama" (The Founders, 1957) had an extended run at the celebration of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, to be successful. Not at all successful was the development, as an aftermath of Brougham's Pocahontas burlesque, of what Philip Young refers to as an "Everything but the Kitchen Sink School" of playwrights who burlesqued and melodramaticized the Pocahontas story to their hearts' content in feeble attempts at both "light" and "serious" drama. Although two twentieth-century plays, Margaret Ullman's Pocahontas (1912) and Virgil Geddes' Pocahontas and the Elders (1933), point in that direction, there are in the realm of drama no counterparts (modern or otherwise) to John Barth's mythic treatment of the Pocahontas theme in fiction nor to Hart Crane's poetic elevation of this

Indian girl to the level of myth in The Bridge. Considering these recent poetic and fiction-prose demonstrations of the pregnant dramatic and symbolic potential of the story, however, it seems very likely that some major dramatist will eventually use the theme, "seriously" or "ironically," to produce a drama that qualifies as real art.

Although the verse treatments of the Pocahontas materials that were written between 1803 and 1907 are far more numerous than those that appeared in any other creative genre during the period, it is generally a case of quantity rather than quality. Indeed, one may justifiably argue that those authors who aspired to poetic handling of the theme during this period are more often than not mere versifiers. Instead of slavishly following in the steps of those novelists and dramatists who predominantly employ a narrative line that was derived from Smith, however, a few of these writers (Lydia H. Sigourney and John Edward Howell, to mention the prime examples) wrote sets of reflective lyrics which only employed brief episodes in the life of the Indian girl as points of departure and explored the tangential possibilities of the story. In moving away from the narrative and in the direction of the reflective poem, such authors anticipated the more artistically powerful renderings of the Pocahontas materials which were to be accomplished in the twentieth century by a group including

Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, and Hart Crane, who--if they were not major poets--were at least writers of the second rank.

The modern poets were finally to elevate Pocahontas to a mythic level which had been merely hinted at by the most able of the nineteenth century writers who, though they seemed acutely aware of the story's artistic potential, seemed yet unable to express adequately that pregnant quality of it which goes beyond the facts. The credit for really initiating such development as this must be divided between a query posed by Sandburg and an answer to that question offered by Vachel Lindsay. In "Cool Tombs" which appeared in 1916, Sandburg asks:

> Pocahontas' body lovely as a poplar, sweet as a red haw in November or a pawpaw in May, did she wonder? does she remember? . . . in the dust, in the cool tombs?[1]

Almost two years later Lindsay cited this passage, responded "yes, she remembers," and proceeded to explicate the matter in a poem that transforms the Indian maid--the savior of Jamestown--into a symbol of the American spirit. Having imaginatively supplied a genealogy in which Powhatan becomes the offspring of lightning and an oak and his "dearest daughter" the beloved and the bride of the forest, Lindsay projects the image of the Indian girl as "Our Mother

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[1]Carl Sandburg, Complete Poems (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), p. 134.

Pocahontas." Disavowing the import of the European threads in the American's ancestory, Lindsay observes that:

> John Rolfe is not our ancestor.
> We rise from the soul of her
> Held in native wonderland,
> While the sun's rays kissed her hand,
> In the springtime,
> In Virginia,
> Our Mother Pocahontas.[2]

Though he accepts history's record which states that Pocahontas died and was buried in England, Lindsay contends that in spirit she returned to Virginia and walks the continent, "Waking, / Thrilling, / The midnight land," and she has become blended with the very soil of this land. Americans are therefore, in Lindsay's view, not born of Europe but of Pocahontas. They are her offspring and are sustained by that heritage. This poem by Lindsay is really the first significant exploitation of the symbolic potential of the Pocahontas legend to be found in American literature.

Taking what is basically the same approach to his subject as Lindsay, Hart Crane, in The Bridge (1930), went even further and elevated Pocahontas to a fully mythic status. In notes which project the plan for his poem, Crane views the Indian princess as "the natural body of American fertility;" as the land that lay before Columbus "like a woman, ripe, waiting to be taken." And in the long section of The Bridge which is subtitled "Powhatan's

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[2]Vachel Lindsay, Collected Poems (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 106.

Daughter," the poet expresses these ideas and develops them. In a waking dream at the outset of this section the poet finds Pocahontas with him in the mists of a harbor dawn ("Your cool arms murmurously around me lay. . . .a forest shudders in your hair!"). She disappears only to return later as the invitingly feminine mass of land that is the American continent. "The land blooms with her," she becomes a bride (but "virgin to the last of men"), passes herself then to a pioneer mother--a living symbol of the fertility of the land, and makes her last appearance as the earth again--"our native clay . . . red, eternal flesh of Pocahontas . . . ." As if attempting to clarify these points, lest they be ignored or misunderstood, Crane writes in a letter to Otto H. Kahn, his benefactor, of his "deliberate intentions" with regard to the treatment of Pocahontas in this piece:

> Powhatan's daughter, or Pocahontas, is the mythological nature symbol chosen to represent the physical body of the continent, or the soil She here takes on much the same role as the traditional Hertha of ancient Teutonic mythology. The five sub-sections of Part II are mainly concerned with a gradual exploration of this "body" whose first possessor was the Indian.[3]

And so the stream of treatments of the Pocahontas story flows on. The last word has certainly not yet been heard. For there will be other historians who will include

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[3]Hart Crane, "Letter to Otto H. Kahn, September 12, 1927," in Brom Weber, ed., The Letters of Hart Crane: 1916-1931 (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), p. 305.

the story of this Indian princess in their "factual" works and there surely will be more novels, poems, and plays which retell or reflectively treat this ever-popular tale of the Princess Pocahontas and her vital role in the beginnings of the American nation at Jamestown in Virginia.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

JOHN ROLFE'S LETTER CONCERNING HIS MARRIAGE TO POCAHONTAS AS IT APPEARS IN RALPH HAMOR'S A TRUE DISCOURSE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF VIRGINIA, PP. 61-68

Honourable Sir, and most vvorthy Gouernor: vvhen your leasure shall best serue you to peruse these lines, I trust in God, the beginning vvill not strike you into a greater admiration, then the end vvill giue you good content. It is a matter of no small moment, concerning my own particular which here I impart vnto you, and vvhich toucheth mee so neerely, as the tendernesse of my saluation. Howbeit I freely subiect my selfe to your graue and mature iudgement, deliberation, approbation and determination; assuring myselfe of your zealous admonitions, and godly comforts, either perswading me to desist, or incouraging me to persist therin, with a religious feare and godly care, for which (from the very instant, that this began to roote itselfe, vvithin the secret bosome of my brest) my daily and earnest praiers haue bin, still are, and euer shall be produced forthwith, as sincere, a godly zeale, as I possiblely may to be directed, aided and gouerned in all my thoughts, vvords and deedes, to the glory of God, and for my eternal consolation. To perseuere vvherein I neuer had more neede, nor (till novv) could euer imagine to haue bin moued vvith the like occasion.

But (my case standing as it doth) vvhat better vvorldly refuge can I here seeke, then to shelter my selfe vnder the safety of your fauourable protection? And did not my case proceede from an vnspotted conscience, I should not dare to offer to your vievv and aprroued iudgement, these passions of my troubled soule, so full of feare and trembling is hypocrise and dissimulation. But knovving my owne innocency and godly feruor, in the vvhole prosecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance, and clement construction. As for malicious deprauers, and turbulet spirits, to whom nothing is tastful, but what pleaseth their vnsauory pallat, I passe not for them being vvell assured in my perswasion (by the often triall and prouing of my selfe, in my holiest meditations and praiers) that I am called hereunto by the spirit of God; and it shall be sufficient for me to be protected by your selfe in all vertuous and pious indeuours. And for my more happie proceeding herein, my daily oblations shall euer be

addressed to bring to passe so good effects, that your selfe, and all the vvorld may truely say: This is the worke of God, and it is maruelous in our eies.

But to auoide tedious preambles, and to come neerer the matter: first suffer me vvith your patence, to svveepe and make cleane the way vvherein I vvalke, from all suspicions and doubts, vvhich may be couered therein, and faithfully to reueale vnto you, vvhat should moue me hereunto.

Let therefore this my vvell aduised protestation, vvhich here I make betweene God and my own conscience, be a sufficient vvitnesse, at the dreadfull day of iugdement (vvhen the secret of all mens harts shall be opened) to condemne me herein, if my chiefest intent and purpose be not, to strive with all my power of body and minde, in the undertaking of so mightie a matter, no vvay led (so farre forth as mans vveakenesse may permit) with the vnbridled desire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne saluation, and for the conuerting to the true knowledge of God and Iesus Christ, an vnbeleeuing creature, namely Pokahuntas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are, and haue a long time bin so intangled, and inthralled in so intricate a laborinth, that I vvas euen awearied to vnwinde my selfe thereout. But almighty God, vvho neuer faileth his, that truely inuocate his holy name hath opened the gate, and led me by the hand that I might plainely see and discerne the safe paths vvherein to treade.

To you therefore (most noble Sir) the patron and Father of vs in this countrey doe I vtter the effects of this my setled and long continued affection (which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations) and here I doe truely relate, to vvhat issue this dangerous combate is come vnto, vvherein I haue not onely examined, but throughly tried and pared my thoughts euen to the quicke, befor I could finde any fit vvholesome and apt applications to cure so daungerous an vlcer. I neuer failed to offer my daily and faithfull praiers to God, for his sacred and holy assistance. I forgot not to set before mine eies the frailty of mankinde, his prones to euill, his indulgencie of vvicked thoughts, vvith many other imperfections vvherein man is daily insnared, and oftentimes ouerthrowne, and them compared to my present estate. Nor vvas I ignorant of the heauie displeasure which almightie God conceiued against the sonnes of Leuie and Israel for marrying strange vviues, nor of the inconueniences vvhich may thereby arise, with other the like good motions vvhich made me looke about warily and with good circumspection, into the grounds and principall

agitations, which thus should prouoke me to be in loue with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurtriture from myselfe, that oftentimes with feare and trembling, I haue ended my priuate controuersie with this: surely these are vvicked instigations, hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in mans destruction; and so with feruent praiers to be euer preserued from such diabolical assaults (as I tooke those to be) I haue taken some rest.

Thus when I had thought I had obtained my peace and quietnesse, beholde another, but more gracious tentation hath made breaches into my holiest and strongest meditations; with which I haue bin put to a new triall, in straighter manner then the former: for besides the many passions and sufferings vvhich I haue daily, hourely, yea and in my sleepe indured, euen awaking mee to astonishment, taxing mee with remisnesse, and carelessnesse, refusing and neglecting to performe the duteie of a good Christian, pulling me by the eare, and crying: why dost not thou indeuour to make her a Christian? And these haue happened to my greater wonder, euen when she hath bin furthest seperated from me, which in common reason (were it not an vndoubted worke of God (might breede forgetfulnesse of a farre more worthie creature. Besides, I say the holy spirit of God hath often demaunded of me, why I was created? If not for transitory pleasures and worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lords vineyard, there to sow and plant, to nourish and increase the fruites thereof, daily adding with the good husband in the Gospell, somewhat to the tallent, that in the end the fruites may be reaped, to the comfort of the laborer in this life, and his saluation in the world to come? And if this be, as vndoubtedly this is, the seruice Iesus Christ requireth of his best seruant: wo vnto him that hath these instruments of pietie put into his hands, and wilfully despiseth to worke with them. Likewise, adding hereunto her great apparance of loue to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capablenesse of vnderstanding, her aptnesse and willingnesse to receiue anie good impression, and also the spirituall, besides her owne incitements stirring me vp hereunto.

What should I doe? Shall I be of so vntoward a disposition, as to refuse to lead the blind into the right way? Shall I be so vnnaturall, as not to giue bread to the hungrie? or vncharitable, as not to couer the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious dueties of a Christian? Shall the base feare of displeasing the world, ouerpower and with holde mee from reuealing vnto man these spirituall workes of the Lord, which in my meditations and praiers, I haue daily made knowne vnto him? God for bid, I assuredly trust hee hath thus delt with me for my eternall felicitie,

and for his glorie: and I hope so to be guided by his heauenly graice, that in the end by my faithfull paines, and christianlike labour, I shall attaine to that blessed promise, Pronounced by that holy Prophet Daniell vnto the righteous that bring many vnto the knowledge of God. Namely, that they shall shine like the starres foreuer and eur. A sweeter comfort cannot be to a true Christian, nor a greater incouragement for him to labour all the daies of his life, in the performance thereof, nor a greater gaine of consolation, to be desired at the hower of death, and in the day of iudgement.

Againe by my reading, and conference vvith honest and religious persons, haue I receiued no small encouragement, besides ferena mea conscientia, the cleerenesse of my conscience, clean from the filth of impurity, quae est inftar muri ahenei, vvhich is vnto me, as a brasen vvall. If I should set down at large the perturbations and godly motions, which haue striuen vvithin mee, I should but make a tedious and vnnecessary volume. But I doubt not these shall be sufficient both to certifie you of my tru intents, in discharging of my dutie to God, and to your selfe, to vvhose gracious prouidence I humbly submit my selfe, for his glory, your honour, our Countreys good, the benefit of this Plantation, and for the conuerting of one vnregenerate, to regeneration; vvhich I beseech God to graunt, for his deere Sonne Christ Iesus his sake.

Now if the vulgar sort, who square all mens actions by the base rule of their own filthinesse, shall taxe or taunt me in this my godly labour: let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my selfe vvith incontinency; sure (if I would, and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfie such desire, though not vvithout a seared conscience, yet vvith Christians more pleasing to the eie, and lesse fearefull in the offence vnlawfully committed. Nor am I in so desperate an estate, that I regard not what becommeth of mee; nor am I out of hope but one day to see my Country, nor so void of friends, nor mean in birth, but there to obtain a mach to my great content: nor haue I ignorantly passed ouer my hopes there, or regardlesly seek to loose the loue of my friends, by taking this course: I know them all, and haue not rashly ouerslipped any.

But shal it please God thus to dispose of me (which I earnestly desire to fulfill my ends before sette down) I vvill heartely accept of it as a godly taxe appointed me, and I will neuer cease, (God assisting me) vntill I haue accomplished, and brought to perfection so holy a vvorke, in which I vvill daily pray God to blesse me, to mine, and her eternall happines. And thus desiring no longer to liue, to enioy the blessings of God, then this my resolution

doth tend to such godly ends, as are by me before declared: not doubting of your fauorable acceptance, I take my leaue, beseeching Almighty God to raine downe vpon you, such plentitude of his heauenly graces, as your heart can wish and desire, and so I rest,

At your commaund most willing
to be disposed off

Iohn Rolfe.

APPENDIX B

CAPTAIN SMITH'S "ABSTRACT" OF HIS LETTER TO QUEEN ANNE CONCERNING POCAHONTAS AS IT APPEARS IN THE A. G. BRADLEY EDITION OF THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA, II, 530-33

To the most high and vertuous Princesse, Queene Anne of Great Brittanie

Most admired Queene,

The loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee [to] presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Maiestie this short discourse; if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull.

So it is,

> That some ten yeeres agoe [i.e. Jan. 1608] being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chiefe King, I receiued from this great Saluage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquas, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I euer saw in a Saluage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age [therefore Smith, in June 1616, estimated Pocahontas to have been born in 1595, or 1596; and consequently, in 1616 to be 21 or 20 years old: but in June 1608, he looked upon her as a child of 10 years of age (p. 38), or born in 1598; which would make her only 18 in 1616. But that she was the older of these two estimates, is evident from the inscription on her picture; which is further confirmed by the text at p. 169], whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to preuent, nothwithstanding al their

threats. After some six weeks [or rather about three weeks, Smith was altogether away from James town, from 10 Dec. 1607 to 8 Jan. 1608, i.e., four complete weeks and portions of two others: see pp. lxxxv-vi] fatting among those Saluage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Iames towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of Virginia; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this [122] Lady Pocahontas.

Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our iarres haue beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplyed; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee [at Werowocomoco, about 15 Jan. 1609, see pp. 138, 455], hauing but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gaue me intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her.

Iames towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608-9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion; which if in those times had once beene dissolued, Virginia might haue line [lain] as it was at our first arriuall to this day.

Since then, this businesse hauing beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at [on 4 Oct. 1609, see p. 497]: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie; all which time shee was not heard of.

About two yeeres after [April 1613] shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded; and at last reiecting her barbarous condition, [she] was maried [1 April 1614] to an English Gentleman,

with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first Virginian euer spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman: a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well vnderstood, worthy of a Princes vnderstanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maiestie, what at your best leasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maiesties life; and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I neuer begged any thing of the state or any: and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert; your birth, meanes and authoritie; hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maiestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so vnworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maiestie. The most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how euer her stature [Pocahontas was therefore not a tall woman]: if she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her present loue to vs and Christianitie might turne to such scorne and furie, as to diuert all this good to the worst euill: where[as] finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants an subiects, would so rauish her with content, as to endeare her dearest bloud to effect that, your Maiestie and all the Kings honest subiects most earnestly desire.

And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

VITA

William Warren Jenkins was born in Sparta, Tennessee, in 1930. He attended public schools in that city and was graduated from White County High School in 1948. The following September he entered David Lipscomb College. In 1951 he transferred to the University of Tennessee and received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in English from that Institution in June 1952. Soon after graduation he entered the United States Army. Upon release from service, he was associated with the Life of Georgia Insurance Company until he was employed by the Sparta City Board of Education in August 1956. He received his Master of Arts degree with a major in English from George Peabody College in August 1958. In 1962 he became a faculty member at White County High School, and since 1965 he has been a member of the English Department at Tennessee Technological University.

He entered the Graduate School at the University of Tennessee in March 1972 and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in English in June 1977. During these years, he served one year as a Graduate Teaching Assistant in the English Department from September 1973 to June 1974 and was the recipient of the Durant da Ponte Dissertation Fellowship in American Literature for

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He is a bachelor and resides with his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Turner Jenkins, Sparta, Tennessee.